

PATHWAYS  
OF  
PEACE

by Leslie Eisan







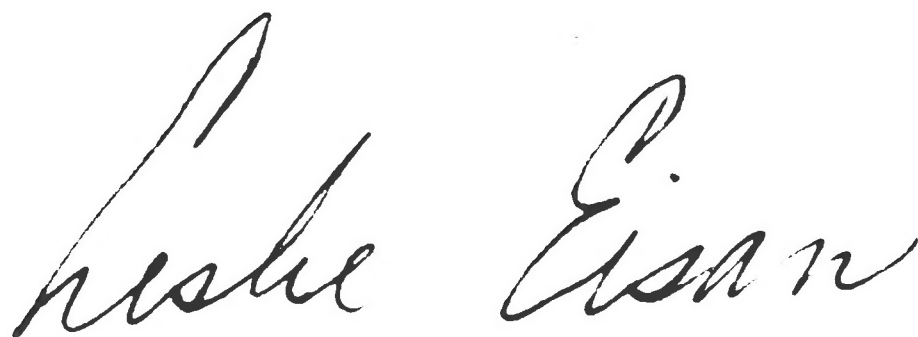


# Pathways of Peace

A History of the Civilian Public Service Program

Administered by the Brethren Service Committee

LESLIE EISAN

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Leslie Eisan". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the printed name.

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To my wife,  
FRANCES L. EISAN,  
who has shared fully with me in the writing  
of this volume

M723546

WITHDRAWN





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## Introduction

Civilian Public Service was a logical development of the concern of the historic peace churches, and others, for an adequate recognition of conscientious objection to military service, and of the growing desire of the government to find a more satisfactory solution to the problem of what to do in time of war with those citizens who could not in good conscience accept military service. It was a constructive compromise between what the churches wanted and what the state preparing for war felt should be granted. Thus, while it was never fully satisfactory to either, it did in a significant measure secure the values of both.

Civilian Public Service offered the members of the Church of the Brethren and others an opportunity to make a positive witness against war and at the same time provided an avenue of expression for a growing concept of creative citizenship. It was a decided improvement over the provision made for conscientious objectors in World War I. Even during World War II it was too far advanced for the majority of drafted Brethren, as was evidenced by so many going into the army. Only a few Brethren refused both military and alternative service. But these few, together with others in and out of camps who were beginning to question the adequacy of Civilian Public Service as a pacifist witness against war, serve as a reminder that more adequate provisions for conscien-

tious objection should be sought for the future. Thus, Civilian Public Service was a limited pacifist instrument, both from the standpoint of its ability to satisfy the basic desires of all types of men in its services, and from the standpoint of its ability to keep up functionally with the trend of many of its adherents toward increasing non-co-operation with a conscripting government. Though Civilian Public Service was experimental and naturally developed many new phases and types of service, the basic structure was rigid and did not accommodate itself to the evolving ideology of the men and supporters of Civilian Public Service.

Civilian Public Service will be evaluated primarily in the light of its contribution, or lack of contribution, to the recognition accorded sincere conscientious objection by a normally democratic state engaged in or preparing for war. There are many other criteria for evaluation. The author has pointed these out, and provided an adequate selection of materials for critical judgment. Suffice it to say here that any complete appraisal of Civilian Public Service will need to include Aristotle's value, that "the nature of anything is the best into which it can grow." The significance of the movement lies to a considerable degree in what it did to the thinking of the men in it, and those engaged in it from church, community, and government, on the basic issues of respect for conscience and safeguarding minority rights.

CPS was a co-operative venture. It involved the association of conscientious objectors from widely differing viewpoints and backgrounds. It required constant negotiations between the churches and the government. It necessitated continuous interpretation to the local com-

munity. Any successes the movement obtained were made possible only through the united efforts of all these groups. The major responsibility on the part of the churches was undertaken by the Mennonites, the Friends, and the Brethren, but almost two hundred different religious groups were identified with the movement, and a score or more took up its leadership.

The CPS experiment offered the churches an opportunity to work out their belief of church-state relationships in a practical way instead of from a purely theoretical and librarian approach. Also it served to crystallize the desire of the churches for channels through which an increasing sense of community responsibility might be expressed. For some of the churches and for many of the men, this was the beginning of a vital Christian social concern for the local and world-wide community.

The author of this history is uniquely qualified by training, experience and temperament to produce a good history of Brethren Civilian Public Service. He holds degrees in history from La Verne College and Claremont Graduate School in California. His graduate study was in the field of American history, and he is a student of historiography. He was himself an assignee participant in Civilian Public Service, serving seventeen months in a base camp at Belden, California, and seven months as historical records clerk in the Elgin office. Though a lay member of the Church of the Brethren, he comes out of non-Brethren background. He has attained a high degree of historical objectivity, and combines independent judgment with sensitivity to the value-judgments of others. He possesses the necessary patience and energy to insure the accuracy of the smallest detail. Perhaps most import-

ant of all, the author remains in the background of the story he relates, and the reader gains confidence as he reads that it is the way Civilian Public Service happened rather than the way the author wished it might have happened.

This is the first of several proposed general histories of Civilian Public Service to go to press. It is offered to the public in the hope that it will provide a convenient reference manual and that it will contribute to a balanced interpretation of the movement and the events it records.

W. Harold Row, Secretary  
Brethren Service Commission

Elgin, Illinois



## Preface

This history aims to recount the significant facts of the Civilian Public Service program administered by the Brethren Service Committee. Civilian Public Service was the "program of work of national importance under civilian direction" provided by the national draft law of 1940 for registrants conscientiously opposed to war and to induction in the armed services. The Brethren Service Committee of the Church of the Brethren was one of the private religious groups offered the opportunity by the government to help administer such work.

The Church of the Brethren is a small denomination of not quite two hundred thousand members which, from its founding in 1708, has maintained a belief in peace as one of the teachings of the New Testament. The Brethren, in co-operation with the Friends, the Mennonites, and others, sought, and were granted, a share in the management of the alternative service because of their concern for peace and conscientious objection to war.

As a history of the Brethren Civilian Public Service program, this study is one phase of the story of conscientious objection to war during World War II. Other phases, which lie beyond the scope of this study, include the similar CPS programs of the Friends and the Mennonites, and other church groups; the service of many objectors in the noncombatant branches of the armed forces; the imprisonment of other objectors; and the activities of

those pacifists who were not subject to the draft law.

In arrangement, the study is divided into four parts. Part I is introductory in nature and outlines the backgrounds and thought patterns of two of the major participant groups—the Church of the Brethren and the drafted conscientious objectors. In the first chapter, the peace belief of the Church of the Brethren is traced from its beginning to the war period, with an emphasis upon those factors related to the alternative service program of 1941-1947. In the second chapter, the population characteristics of the assignee group are described, as well as their attitudes toward war, peace, and alternative service. These chapters are placed first in the history in the belief that an understanding of the backgrounds and thought patterns of the church and of the men will lead to a fuller understanding of the course of Brethren CPS.

Part II is concerned with the projects established to provide work of national importance—the base camps and the special units. Several chapters are devoted to a relation of their history.

Part III describes the manner in which the Brethren CPS program was administered. It is primarily concerned with the relation of the central administrative offices of the church to the local units, and with the relationships of the church to Selective Service. The history proper closes with the last chapter of Part III.

Part IV is in the nature of an epilogue. In it, the author abandons the role of the objective historian and seeks to raise for the reader questions pertinent to an evaluation of Brethren Civilian Public Service. Whereas Parts I, II, and III are concerned with the problem of

recounting the history of the program, Part IV is concerned with the problem of passing judgment upon it.

In the writing of this history, the author has sought to give an objective account of the program as reflected by the primary source materials. It has not been possible, however, within the limits of one volume, to include all the details or to note all the exceptions to the general trends of events. The author has had to decide to include some materials and to omit others, simply from lack of space. Such decisions, common to all ventures in historiography, were necessarily made on the basis of an evaluation of the significance of the materials, and introduced into the study a subjective element.

For such viewpoints and value judgments as are expressed in this study, the author assumes sole responsibility. Likewise, his is the responsibility for such inaccuracies of factual statements as may occur. The correction of such inaccuracies or the expression of divergent judgments will be received gladly by the author.

A bibliographical essay indicates the documents upon which the study is based, and provides guidance for those interested in research of their own. An appendix and a glossary have been included also. The quotations used are primarily excerpts from documents, with unessential portions omitted.<sup>1</sup> Quotations are used primarily for illustrative purposes and are substantiated in their import by numerous other unquoted documents. Thus the footnote references are only suggestive of the extent of source materials used.

In reading this volume, the most satisfactory results will accrue if only tentative concepts are formed until the

<sup>1</sup>In almost all instances, the omitted portions are indicated by ellipses.

final pages are read, for each chapter and topic, in a sense, modifies every other. The questions posed in the last chapter are relevant primarily in light of the materials discussed in the chapters preceding.

It should also be borne in mind by the reader that Civilian Public Service was essentially a wartime program, and as such was subject to all the currents of emotion and feeling existent in such times. Although dissociated from the war effort, CPS felt the impact of the war psychology and the temper of a society engaged in a global war.

Finally, the author would like to express his appreciation to the Brethren Service Commission for its generous financial aid in this study and to W. Harold Row for his interest and help. The complete academic freedom extended by the service commission and staff to the author created an ideal research arrangement. During the course of the study many persons gave valuable assistance in many ways. Thanks are due to Ora W. Garber and to Lorell Weiss for their gracious help. To the many assignees and other participants in the venture—numbering over fifty—who have read various portions of the manuscript, the author is under heavy obligation. Their criticisms, suggestions, and insights have assisted greatly in the effort to secure factual accuracy and a balanced perspective. Permission to use copyrighted materials has been granted by the *Journal of Psychology*, The American Dietetic Association, the American Psychological Association, Inc., the Christian Century Foundation, and the Brethren Publishing House. The illustrations, based on materials from camp newssheets, are by Paul Dailey.

Leslie Eisan

Elgin, Illinois

# Part I

## *BACKGROUNDS*

*In seeking to understand the nature and development of Brethren Civilian Public Service, some attention may be given to the patterns of thought and systems of values to which the groups involved in the venture gave allegiance. More than in most areas of life, performance and action in Civilian Public Service were directly related to ideational concepts. Since there was much diversity of outlook among the many groups represented in the program, it seemed, in turn, almost inevitable for the emerging patterns of action to reflect this diversity.*

*In the pages following an indication is given of the backgrounds and thought patterns—and their diversity—of some of the major participant groups. The first chapter is concerned with the Church of the Brethren and its beliefs; the second is concerned with the drafted assignees.*





## CHAPTER 1

### The Brethren Peace Heritage and Civilian Public Service

The history of the Church of the Brethren has been particularly rich in thought relating to the great human problem of war and peace. A most recent phase of this history has been the venture of the church into the program of Civilian Public Service. In many respects this program seems to have been a rather natural product of the Brethren past, being rooted in beliefs and practices dating back to the very founding of the church. Thus seen it is the extension of an older faith into the present day. But coupled with this older faith was a newer manner of approach, so that Brethren Civilian Public Service came to be an effort to conserve and achieve the old ideal by and through a modern mode of expression.

#### THE BRETHREN PEACE ROOTS ARE DEEP 1708-1940

The Church of the Brethren, from the year of its founding, 1708, has held steadily to the ideal of peace as the way of life indicated by Jesus.<sup>1</sup> From the teaching of this concept as an ideal it has not varied materially

<sup>1</sup>See D. W. Kurtz, *Ideals of the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1933, a pamphlet).

Also see Rufus D. Bowman, *The Church of the Brethren and War* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1944), chapter 2.

in a period of over two hundred years, although in this, as in other matters, the practice of individual members has not always conformed to the faith.<sup>2</sup>

### *The Brethren Tested by a Crisis*

As early as the Revolution, in the year 1781, the church is on record as being opposed to war and the shedding of blood. At the Annual Meeting (Annual Conference) of that year, the matter was discussed at some length. The position which the Brethren took is revealed in the following article:

Inasmuch, at the big meeting of Conestoga, last year, it has been unanimously concluded that we should not pay the substitute money; but inasmuch as it has been overlooked here and there, and some have not regarded it (sad conclusion), therefore we, the assembled brethren, exhort in union all brethren in all places to hold themselves guiltless, and take no part in war or blood-shedding, which might take place if we would pay for hiring men voluntarily; or more still, if we would become agents to collect such money. And inasmuch [as] some brethren have received written orders to tell the people, and afterwards collect (such money) accompanied by a threat of a heavy fine—we exhort heartily, not to be scared to do that which is not right. Still, we exhort, also, heartily, that if a brother should be fined, there should be provision made for such brethren, and assistance rendered as far as concerns money. . . . Concerning the tax, it is considered on account of the troublesome times . . . and in order to avoid offense, we might follow the example of Christ (Matthew 17:24-27), yet if one does not see it so, and thinks, perhaps, he, for his conscience' sake could not pay it, but bear with others who pay, in patience, we would

<sup>2</sup>It is likely that there was less practice in conformity with the peace doctrine of the church during World War II than in any other period preceding. Over 90% of the members drafted or volunteering in this war were in full military service. Fewer than 10% were in either the noncombatant service (IAO) or CPS (4E). Figures are taken from Merlin C. Shull, *A Classification of Members and Friends of the Church of the Brethren Under Selective Service, March, 1945* (a mimeographed bulletin).

willingly leave it over, inasmuch [as] we deem the overruling of the conscience as wrong.<sup>3</sup>

These same wartimes brought forth another notable statement which gave fuller expression to the peace ideal. In the colony of Pennsylvania, in 1775, popular feeling was running high against those of the nonresistant faith. The Assembly recognized the situation, and, in an attempt to counter it, asked that an attitude of tolerance prevail. Then they spoke to the nonresistants.

. . . and to these conscientious people it is also recommended, that they cheerfully assist, in proportion to their abilities, such associators as cannot spend their time and substance in the public service without great injury to themselves and families.<sup>4</sup>

It was at this point that Brethren thought received a clear formulation. Speaking to this same body, in joint address with the Mennonites, they declared:

The advice to those who do not find Freedom of Conscience to take up arms, that they ought to be helpful to those who are in need and distressed circumstances, we receive with cheerfulness towards all men of what station they may be—it being our principle to feed the Hungry and give the Thirsty Drink;—we have dedicated ourselves to serve all men in everything that can be helpful to the preservation of Men's Lives, but we find no Freedom in giving, or doing, or assisting in anything by which Men's Lives are destroyed or hurt.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>*Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1909), page 6. This book (and others similar to it) should not be confused with the yearly pamphlets issued by each Annual Conference. The latter are referred to as *Annual Conference Minutes*.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in Bowman, *op. cit.*, page 78.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, page 80. Compare with the ff. by the Brethren Service Committee, that agency of the church charged with the administration of the Brethren Civilian Public Service program: "The Brethren Service Committee finds its charter in the words of the Master: 'I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; . . . I was a stranger and ye took me in; I was naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me . . . inasmuch as ye did it to one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me.'" (From, *Annual Conference Minutes*, 1941, page 52.)

*The Peace Doctrine Challenged and Sustained*

In 1785 and in 1790 the Annual Meeting again considered the question of war and more especially the relation of the Brethren to the state. Some of the members not in full accord with the peace doctrine were urging that the military service was being required of them by the "higher powers," i.e., the government. They pointed out that the New Testament taught submission to such authority (1 Peter 2:13-14). The reply of the meeting was:

. . . that the higher powers bear the sword of justice, punishing the evil, and protecting the good, in this we acknowledge them from the heart as ministers of God. But the sword belongeth to the kingdom of the world . . . . Thus we understand the beloved Peter, that we are to submit ourselves in all things that are not contrary to the will or command of God, and no further.<sup>6</sup>

They [the government] cannot compel us, if they would, because we are to obey God rather than men.<sup>7</sup>

Taken together these ideals formed the peace belief of the early church. It is this belief which has continued on to the present day without significant change in ideational content. This is the old faith which has been sustained unbroken. In sum, it can be conceived as involving the following principles:

1. War, and its allied activities, are out of harmony with the teachings of Jesus.
2. The Christian faith calls for constructive service to all mankind.
3. In cases of hardship, assistance should be rendered one to another.

<sup>6</sup>*Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Church of the Brethren*, page 10.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, page 14.



4. The threat of suffering and oppression should not deter the doing of what is right.

5. Loyalty and service are the due of the government, but should its demands run counter to the will of God, they cannot be met.

6. The overruling of conscience is wrong.

### *Peace Beliefs During the Civil War Period*

In the times following the Revolution there came a series of statements which supplemented this doctrine, but which did not alter it in a material manner. Thus, in 1836, the Brethren denied the right of members to take money earned as soldiers.<sup>8</sup> In 1840, it was not "allowable for brethren to learn war."<sup>9</sup> In 1845 this was recorded:

In regard to our being altogether defenseless, not to withstand evil, but overcome evil with good, the Brethren considered, that the nearer we follow the bright example of the lamb of God, who willingly suffered the cross, and prayed for his enemies; who, though heir of all things, had on earth not where to lay his head—the more we shall fulfill our high calling and obtain grace to deny ourselves for Christ and his Gospel's sake, even to the loss of our property, our liberty, and our lives.<sup>10</sup>

In 1863, during the Civil War, it was "recommended . . . that each member . . . contribute" in order to "bear an equal share in paying the fines" imposed by the government upon members subject to the draft.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, page 62.

<sup>9</sup>*Revised Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Church of the Brethren from 1778 to 1922* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1922), page 204.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, page 204.

<sup>11</sup>*Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Church of the Brethren*, page 221.

Annual Conference of 1864 exhorted the Brethren to adhere to the nonresistant principle, and at the same time affirmed:

And lest the position which we have taken upon political matters in general, and war matters in particular, should seem to make us, as a body, appear to be indifferent to our government, or in opposition thereto, in its efforts to suppress the rebellion, we hereby declare that it has our sympathies and our prayers, and that it shall have our aid in any way which does not conflict with the principles of the gospel of Christ.<sup>12</sup>

### *Reaffirmation of Peace Stand in 1918*

The period between the Civil War and the First World War produced little that was new as far as peace doctrine was concerned. The core of the earlier teachings was preserved without significant change.<sup>13</sup> In fact, the war period itself did not occasion alteration of the old tradition, but rather only amplification and restatement. This can be seen readily by considering the statements of the Goshen Conference of 1918.

At this special conference called to consider the problems raised by the war, the peace belief was studied carefully and fully. As a result a statement was adopted which gave to it a clear expression. In part, it read:

. . . we earnestly and humbly pray the President . . . to assign us our noncombatant duties in agriculture and the peaceful industries, where loyal and valuable service to our country may be rendered without violence to conscience . . . or to do, in harmony

<sup>12</sup>*Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Brethren* (Dayton: Christian Publishing Association, 1876), page 286. Insofar as this statement implies a moral support of the effort to "suppress the rebellion," it may be regarded as inconsistent with the basic peace doctrine.

<sup>13</sup>See especially L. W. Shultz, *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren on War and Peace* (Elgin: Board of Christian Education, 1935), page 8 ff.

with our nonresistant principles, relief work and reconstruction work, here or else where, at the judgment of and, if need be, under the control of the government.

. . . the Church of the Brethren hereby declares her continued adherence to the principles of nonresistance, held by the church since its organization in 1708.

I. We believe that war or any participation in war is wrong and entirely incompatible with the spirit, example, and teachings of Jesus Christ.

II. That we cannot conscientiously engage in any activity or perform any function, contributing to the destruction of human life.

We are taught that Governments are ordained of God, and that the administrators of Government are ministers of God. As such we are to be in subjection to them . . . .

The word and authority of God, however, must be final and supreme over all. And when the demands of men and of governments conflict with the Word of God, we are then bound by the latter, regardless of consequences.

[We urge that congregations] contribute liberally to the relief of human suffering, both in men and money.

That they express their gratitude to God for our favored position . . . by giving freely of our substance for constructive relief work . . . .

We urge our people to put forth their utmost effort . . . so that a suffering and hungry world may be clothed, warmed and fed.

The spirit of sacrifice is with us.

The greatest service we can render humanity is the promotion of the kingdom of God.

We . . . urge our Brethren not to enlist in any service which would, in any way, compromise our time-honored position in relation to war; also that they refrain from wearing the military uniform. The tenets of the church forbid military drilling, or learning the art or arts of war, or doing anything which contributes to the destruction of human life or property.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Minutes of the special General Conference of the Church of the Brethren, held at Goshen, Indiana, January 9, 1918, page 3 ff.

*Since World War I*

During the era, 1919-1940, the Brethren seemed to feel that World War I had not "ended all wars." Their concern was expressed through strong declarations on peace at almost every Annual Conference of this period.

In 1921, a statement in the report of the General Peace Committee of the church revealed the trend of Brethren thought. Their recommendations, as adopted by the conference, re-emphasized the established doctrine of peace and proposed a commitment to positive Christian measures that would alleviate suffering in war-torn countries. The assumption of social responsibility through relief and rehabilitation was thought of as an opportunity to "bring the world and even our enemies to believe with us in the superiority of Christ's method over the world's order of war and military dominance."<sup>15</sup>

In the next decade the church continued to make its position clear. The 1931 Annual Conference resolved that the historic emphasis on peace and goodwill be reaffirmed. The body refused "to sanction, or take any part in war."<sup>16</sup>

The following year the conference declared that war was out of harmony with the precepts of the gospel and that all problems incident to the successful functioning of civil government "can be settled under the banner of the Prince of Peace."<sup>17</sup> A note of social responsibility was again injected as the same body pledged the church's efforts to create a social order for the well-being of all. In 1935 the peace belief was restated in these terms:

<sup>15</sup>*Annual Conference Minutes*, 1921, page 24.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 1931, page 45.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 1932, page 48.

As a people we have opposed war at all times throughout our entire history of over two hundred twenty-five years and we have stood with equal consistency for constructive peace principles in all relationships of life.

We believe that all war is . . . incompatible with the spirit, example and teachings of Jesus.

We believe in the only real preparedness for our nation—good-will . . . .<sup>18</sup>

The pronouncement of the Annual Conference of 1938 dwelt upon the individual's dual allegiance to the church and the state:

We recognize that government is essential to the maintenance of orderly living . . . . We ought to labor constantly to put the ideals of Christ into our government . . . .

We love our country . . . [yet] our supreme allegiance is to Christ.<sup>19</sup>

In 1940, as the nations of the world were becoming involved in another war "to end all wars," the Brethren announced it their conviction that "all war is sin and . . . we cannot participate therein."<sup>20</sup>

### A NEW CONCEPT OF CHURCH POLITY

In the preceding pages the roots of the peace belief have been traced from 1708 to 1940. Throughout this period the Brethren received their peace heritage and passed it on, virtually unchanged, to succeeding generations. It is significant to note, however, that although the ideational content of Brethren thought on peace re-

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 1935, page 40.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 1938, page 45.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 1940, page 51.

mained much the same from the founding of the church down through the First World War, and even to the present day, there was a great change in the attitude of the church as to what modes of activity were fit and appropriate for the application of this belief to the problems of the times. In fact, the newer concepts of action differed so markedly from previous ways that they may be considered as introducing a new element into the peace heritage.

Prior to World War I, the Brethren as a body were more or less self-contained, i.e., they had a minimum of relations with other groups, even with those of like mind with them on basic doctrine. They maintained a separateness from society, feeling that the proper channel for the expression of their concern was the church. This attitude can be illustrated by referring to the discussion, in the Annual Meeting of 1884, concerning the propriety of co-operating actively with the peace association of America. The conclusion of the discussion was that as a church there need not be co-operation, although individual members might give their influence in favor of peace. The basic reasons urged for this view were:

We work for the promotion of [these principles—peace, etc.] through the church.

. . . from our former usages, and from the way we look at things, we have not been in the habit of entering into the organizations formed for the promotion of these special principles of the Gospel.

We never have submitted to sending delegates outside of the church to cooperate in disseminating . . . Bible principles.

. . . [such cooperation] is not in harmony with the manner of proceedings among our brethren ever since they have been in America. It is something new.

. . . [the] Kingdom was initiated by the preaching of the Gospel . . . and from that standpoint the nations outside are to be reached.<sup>21</sup>

By the beginning of the World War era there were signs that this feeling of separateness was giving way to an attitude of willingness to go beyond the compact church group to associate with others.

This can be illustrated by reference to a situation almost identical to that noted above. It was asked of the 1911 Annual Meeting that "a brother . . . represent us at the next Universal Peace Conference." Although the answer was negative, it being not thought "best to appoint a brother," the reasons advanced for the decision were different, in large part, from the reasons advanced in 1884. The considerations urged in 1911 were: "the question of expense . . . . things connected with [these conferences] that we cannot endorse very well, like banquets, and so on . . . . The Church of Jesus Christ was left out. . . . It was merely a movement by man alone."<sup>22</sup>

There was not the former insistence that all such associations were wrong in principle, and that their own church was the sole avenue of expression for the concerns of the Brethren. Rather, the line of reasoning implied that had certain conditions prevailed, such an association would have been a fit and proper undertaking. It was a refusal based on the specific shortcomings of the conference in question, not a blanket denial of the worth of all such associations on general principles.

<sup>21</sup>*Report of the Proceedings of the Brethren's Annual Meeting for 1884*, page 85 ff. These reports are commonly known as "full reports."

<sup>22</sup>*Full Report of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Church of the Brethren (1911)*, page 149 ff.



Since the era of the First World War the attitude of separateness has given way more and more to co-operation with other peace groups. The Brethren have become increasingly concerned not only to abstain from war themselves, but to join with others in their efforts to prevent war through social action. This is the new note in Brethren peace history. Thus the old doctrine, basically unchanged from its first formulation, was related to a new concept of church polity. The old ideal was linked to a new mode of expression.

#### WHAT IS THE RELATION OF THE PEACE BELIEF TO CPS?

The relation of the Brethren ideal of peace to a plan of alternative service to society in wartime in lieu of service in the armed forces should be clear. An alternative service of some type was implicit in the peace doctrine from the beginning. While for over two centuries the Brethren had denied, on the one hand, the authority of the state in matters of religious conscience, they had affirmed, on the other, a loyalty in those matters not out of harmony with such conscience. If throughout their history they had disavowed war and its related activities as the negation of the way of Jesus, equally they had declared allegiance to a life of service. It was their principle " 'to feed the Hungry, and give the Thirsty drink,' " having dedicated themselves to serving "all men in everything that can be helpful to the preservation of men's lives."

That the alternative service assumed the form it did, that it came to develop along one line instead of another, can be traced to a series of specific events in the formative period of the plan. These events were closely

linked to the personalities of all concerned—church administrators, draftees, government officials, technical agency representatives and others—and closely linked to the total condition of the society of the day.

It is easily conceivable that the pattern of service could have been markedly different, given another series of events and personalities as the formative matrix, without this difference indicating a major change in doctrinal faith. But it is not conceivable that the ideal of service itself could have been denied without the faith being transformed rather completely. The particular form which the service took is causally related to the times in which it developed, but the ideal providing the basic philosophy for the service was antecedent to the times and independent of them.

#### WHAT EVENTS LED TO THIS PARTICULAR ALTERNATIVE SERVICE?

The immediate series of events culminating in the alternative service program finally sponsored in 1940 can be traced briefly, beginning with the era of the First World War. For convenience, these events can be conceived as taking place within three distinct areas of church thought and action, namely:

1. That of association and co-operation with other peace groups.
2. That of association and co-operation with the government.
3. That of the movement within the church in regard to the peace doctrine.

These areas should not be separated too markedly,

however. In their historic development they were related in an intimate and organic manner, each influencing the other. Thus, although in a sense the association and co-operation with the other peace groups and with the government was the outer manifestation of the Brethren thought pattern of the period, these associations in turn influenced the thought pattern in a causal way, introducing into it new shades of emphasis and meaning.

### *Association With Other Peace Groups, 1914-1918*

The events of the war period served to stimulate the association of the Brethren with other like-minded peace groups, notably the Friends and the Mennonites. During this time there were frequent meetings between the leaders of these churches, meetings in which they considered the problems confronting them as a result of the war. The first such were informal in nature, and, in a sense, unofficial. It was but a short time, however, until the General Peace Committee of the Church of the Brethren requested of the Annual Meeting authorization to act unitedly with these others in discussing with the government the problems affecting their nonresistant doctrines.<sup>23</sup> Such authorization was granted. These meetings can be considered the forerunners of several similar meetings in the times that followed. They culminated in the formation of the semipermanent board for joint representation to the government, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors.

<sup>23</sup>*Annual Conference Minutes*, 1917, page 13. During the years 1918-1921 the General Peace Committee was more or less supplanted by the Central Service Committee. The latter body was created by the special Goshen Conference of 1918 to deal especially with the problems raised by the war. The Central Service Committee was discontinued in 1921.

In 1918 the Brethren Central Service Committee was formed, with definite authority to confer with and co-operate with the representatives of other churches holding similar views of peace. This, too, was one step more on the way to the decisions of 1940. Such actions not only reflected the growing tendency of the church to work in association with other groups, but in turn gave added strength to that pattern of thought.

### *Negotiations With the Government*

As has been indicated, the years 1914-18 were conducive not only to meetings of the Brethren with other peace groups, but also to meetings with the government. There was during this period quite a measure of representation and communication, particularly with the War Department, relative to the drafting of the Brethren for the armed services.<sup>24</sup> Numerous problems arose where church members were assigned full military duties rather than the noncombatant type provided by the law. There were also many cases of mistreatment to investigate and carry before the government, especially in relation to those who refused all service whatever under the military arm of the government. All this activity provided both a background of experience for future use and a precedent for a more understanding relationship between the church and state than had previously existed.

### *The Peace Doctrine in War*

Meanwhile, within the church itself, the peace doctrine came to be examined more carefully in the light of the

<sup>24</sup>In the Brethren Historical Library see the correspondence file of W. J. Swigart for the war years.

exigencies of the war situation. A number of specific questions needed answers. War in the abstract was wrong, and that was easily understood; but did such a position proscribe the noncombatant services offered those with conscientious scruples against fighting and the shedding of blood? Was the uniform to be worn if such noncombatant service were accepted? How was the purchase of liberty bonds to be regarded? Were Brethren to drill? Varying counsel in these matters was given to the members by the local leaders, for the church as a body had not provided answers to these questions. The General Peace Committee summed up the situation thus:

In the experiences met with in the past three years much of diversity was found in the views of our own people—and, indeed, some hardly seemed to have “views” of their own. Many brethren, both young and old, did not have much definite, initiative idea on the right or wrong of the principle involved. They had not thought it through for themselves. “What is the position of our church on going to war?” was an inquiry that came not infrequently from members who were forced now to think of it.<sup>25</sup>

The natural result of the lack of a definite stand by the church in regard to these specific details was confusion, dissatisfaction, and a multiplying of hardships for those immediately affected. The situation was difficult for the men in the army camps because they often did not present a united front in regard to the church’s position. Many Brethren leaders came to feel that the church had not handled well a problem fundamental to Christian thought. There grew up as a consequence the desire for a definite and clear-cut program. It was this confused and generally unsatisfactory situation with the questions

<sup>25</sup>*Full Report . . . 1920*, page 218.

and problems thereby raised that gave point to the later efforts to think creatively in this area—to provide in a more effective way for possible future emergencies.

*Continuing Developments, 1918-1940*

Experience within the lines indicated above continued on in the times following 1918. As the Second World War approached, these lines tended to draw together, until, in 1940, under the impact of the events of that year and especially the passage of the Selective Training and Service Act, there evolved a program which embodied these developments.

Between 1919 and 1940 there were several meetings of the Brethren with other peace groups, particularly with the Friends and the Mennonites. The Central Service Committee recommended in 1919 “that formal overtures be made to the Friends and Mennonites, with the purpose of uniting our efforts against anything looking toward militarism . . . believing that by concerted action greater results may be obtained. . . .”<sup>26</sup> In 1922 a meeting of these “historic peace churches” took place. Two years later, the Annual Conference pronounced:

Believing that our right to protest in time of actual warfare depends upon our utmost activity to avert war in times of peace . . . be it resolved:

That we cooperate with Friends, Mennonites, and other peace bodies in working for peace along constructive educational lines.<sup>27</sup>

Further insight into this developing thought pattern can be gained by considering the speech of M. W. Emmert, a member of the General Welfare Board of the

<sup>26</sup>*Annual Conference Minutes*, 1919, page 34.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 1924, page 52.

church, which at that time was responsible for matters relating to peace. In 1925 he pointed out:

Last year at Annual Conference, the sentiment was very, very strong in favor of the Church of the Brethren taking its place with other peace bodies in America and helping to promote the peace program that these peace bodies were advocating. It was recommended at the Conference last year that we associate ourselves with the Federal [National] Council for the Prevention of War.<sup>28</sup>

Of all the joint meetings held, one of the most important was that which took place in 1935. At that conference the three groups drew up a statement which covered their peace positions. In that section which dealt with the plan of unified action recommended in the event that the United States became involved in war, it was stated:

That each of the Historic Peace Churches shall urge its members to observe the peace position of these churches, which means no co-operation with war or the acceptance of any service under military control.

That these churches provide for conscientious objectors who become involved in the draft as follows: a) Furlough from army and navy for alternative service of non-military nature and not under military control. b) Spiritual care for those who are confined in camp under government jurisdiction. c) Spiritual care and counsel for those who refuse to register. d) Financial support for dependents of conscientious objectors deprived of their income . . . .<sup>29</sup>

The year 1937 was marked by the visit of a joint delegation to the president. Each of the three churches presented a statement for the occasion. Brethren members of the committee were Paul H. Bowman and Rufus D. Bowman. In 1940 another conference was held with

<sup>28</sup>Full Report . . . 1925, page 140.

<sup>29</sup>Bowman, *op. cit.*, page 270.

the president, with the same Brethren representatives participating. At this meeting (January 10) concrete proposals were advanced for the handling of the conscientious objector in the event of a national draft. They included:

1. . . . a civilian board . . . to judge . . . conscientious objectors, to assign to them a definite status, and to consider and authorize non-military service projects to which they might be assigned.

2. That draft boards be directed to route conscientious objectors directly to this civilian board . . . .

3. That . . . the historic peace churches be permitted to set up and administer, through their own personnel, service projects to which conscientious objectors might be assigned. The following forms of service might be considered as representative of the sort of projects we might undertake:

Relief of war sufferers

Relief of refugees of evacuated civilian populations

Reconstruction of war-stricken areas

Resettlement of refugees

Reclamation or forestry services in the United States or elsewhere

Relief and reconstruction work in local communities in the United States

Medical and health services in connection with any of these projects

Farm service<sup>30</sup>

In addition, it was asked that consideration be given to the claims of those whose consciences forbade any type of service under a conscription law, and to those of other affiliations.

In June 1940 the historic peace churches agreed "that our approach to the problem of the conscientious objector would be co-operative and by joint action so far

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, page 278.



as possible.”<sup>31</sup> Their association together was climaxed by the formation, in November, of the board responsible for joint action, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. M. R. Zigler, the Brethren representative, was made chairman of the board.

### *Awareness Within the Church of Problems Ahead*

During this same period, 1919-1940, thought and action within the church were pointing to the development of a program whereby the consciences of those opposed to war might be respected by the government, and the peace belief conserved and propagated in the event of a future crisis. The trend of these events seems to have been along the following lines.

In 1932 the congress of the Brethren Young People's Department petitioned the Annual Conference “to investigate and provide a program of service in coöperation with the Friends or otherwise in establishing special arrangements for neutral relief work in time of war or periods of national crises.”<sup>32</sup> This request was made to the Board of Christian Education. In 1933 the board reported:

The Board of Christian Education is giving earnest consideration to the above request and is making the necessary investigations looking toward providing a suggested program of service in co-operation with the Friends and other pacific bodies in neutral relief work in time of war and other periods of national crisis.

The committee has been functioning and valuable investigations have been made.<sup>33</sup>

In referring to the same matter in 1934, the report

<sup>31</sup>*Annual Conference Minutes*, 1941, page 29.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 1932, page 47.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 1933, page 12.

of the board<sup>34</sup> (as amended by Conference) found that because the conditions of future work could not be known ahead of time, an adequate plan could not be outlined in full. The emphasis was placed upon the building of a peace conscience as a background of experience out of which an adequate neutral relief plan could be constructed. The board disapproved of functioning in service under military command.

There was sufficient concern by 1935 about the problems of conscientious objection that the Annual Conference designated a committee of the Board of Christian Education to provide legal counsel for conscientious objectors. Rufus D. Bowman, Paul H. Bowman, F. S. Carper, C. Ray Keim, M. R. Zigler, Dan West, and Ross D. Murphy functioned on this committee. Among their duties was that of studying "carefully with competent legal counsel in coöperation with the Friends, Mennonites and other peace loving bodies, the position that our young people should take in the event of war."<sup>35</sup>

In 1936, the committee reported, listing types of service considered consistent with the historic position of the church. These included:

1. Constructive service under church or civilian direction, such as housing, road making, farming, forestry, hospitalization, and recreational work.

2. Relief work under the church or civilian direction in and outside of the war zone, or in neutral zones, either as a denomination or in co-operation with the Friends and the Mennonites.<sup>36</sup>

By 1939, the peace conscience was sufficiently developed in some phases of the church program that the Board of

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 1934, page 41.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 1935, page 34.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 1936, page 15.

Christian Education noted in its annual report that "an increasing number of our youth are considering giving at least a year of their lives toward antidoting war and building for peace; some have asked what they can do."<sup>37</sup>

### *The Brethren Service Committee Formed*

In November of this same year there was formed at Elgin, Illinois, the Brethren Service Committee, whose areas of functioning were to be peace and relief. The creation of this body can be understood as an indication of an increased concern for these fields. The Brethren who first served on the committee were L. W. Shultz, Leland S. Brubaker, A. W. Cordier, Paul W. Kinsel, and Nora Rhodes. After undergoing some changes in membership, this committee was later (December 1940) assigned the administration of Brethren Civilian Public Service.<sup>38</sup>

In August 1940 the Brethren Service Committee, discussing the problem of alternative service, agreed that "our Alternative Service Plan should be directed primarily in the channel of community and personal rehabilitation."<sup>39</sup>

They approved an outline presented to the meeting by Dan West, which listed the following types of service as suitable to Brethren.

1. Relief of war sufferers
2. Relief of refugees
3. Reconstruction of war-stricken areas
4. Resettlement of refugees

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 1939, page 37.

<sup>38</sup>The assignment was made by a special conference of the Standing Committee of the church, held in Chicago.

<sup>39</sup>Official minutes of the Brethren Service Committee, August 4, 1940, page 8.

5. Reclamation and forestry
6. Relief and reconstruction in the United States
7. Medical and health service
8. Farm service

In summing up the matter "it was felt that the alternative service program (1) must motivate youth for service, (2) ought to be positive and so interpreted, (3) ought to be partially international, and (4) ought to be as largely as possible human."<sup>40</sup>

### *Presentation of Brethren Thought, 1940*

Meanwhile, Brethren thought on peace was carried to Congress by Paul H. Bowman. In a statement authorized by the Advisory Committee<sup>41</sup> and the Brethren Service Committee, he testified at a public hearing of the House Military Affairs Committee, setting forth the position of the church in clear, concise terms. Appropriately, his address was entitled *Creative Citizenship*.

The Church of the Brethren believes that the greatest redemptive force in the world is the quality of life represented by Jesus Christ and the teaching of the New Testament.

The Brethren . . . subscribe to the principle that love, goodwill and brotherhood are the only bases for security and peace in human society and that force and violence are ultimately self destructive. They accept the task of bearing testimony to that faith against all odds and all opposition and in contradiction to all opposing ideologies.

The Brethren regard their supreme citizenship as being in the commonwealth of God, to which they yield their greater loyalty, but they do accept constructive and creative citizenship in the state.

It is the desire of the Brethren to be creative citizens and forerun-

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, page 13.

<sup>41</sup>The Advisory Committee for Conscientious Objectors was appointed by the 1940 Annual Conference to succeed the Committee on Counsel for Conscientious Objectors.

ners of a better order to which they believe this government at heart is forever committed. It is their purpose to bless and heal; to do good to friend and foe alike; to relieve distress and suffering; to save human life and conserve property and wealth; to help create and maintain a spiritual emphasis in business, education and government, and to do their full share in preserving the spiritual foundations upon which all human civilization must finally rest.

In times of war the Brethren believe that they must still be creative and not destructive. They want to serve in those enterprises which are removed in purpose as far as possible from war and bloodshed, and which are calculated to help the nations more easily forgive and forget the bitterness and hatred which war engenders. To these enterprises the Brethren expect to bring a spirit of courage and self-sacrifice and a willingness to face physical hazard comparable to that of the soldier . . . . They desire to help keep alive in American life a spiritual glow and a sense of world mission which shall make this nation virile and strong throughout the world in the cause of justice, righteousness and peace.<sup>42</sup>

### *The Final Months*

Thus, by the fall of 1940, there were present in the experience and thought patterns of the Brethren a number of conditions favorable to the development of the alternative service program finally undertaken:

1. The allegiance professed to a way of life which denied war and its destructiveness and affirmed the creative aspects of living. Central to the concept of creative living was the idea of service as revealed by the New Testament.

2. The allegiance professed to the state in those matters which did not violate the religious conscience. The Brethren recognized the will of the state as binding, except where it contravened the will of God.

<sup>42</sup>*Creative Citizenship* (Elgin: Brethren Service Committee, 1941, a pamphlet). Only portions of the address are quoted.

3. The growth of a spirit of willingness to associate with other groups, especially with those of similar thought patterns. In the field of peace this was especially noticeable from the time of the First World War.

4. The growth of a spirit of willingness to negotiate and work with the government, likewise more noticeable in the field of peace from the time of the First World War.

5. The generally unsatisfactory experiences of World War I, when the position of the church on the specific issues raised by the war was not clear, and when it seemed that the lack of a clear program minimized the chances for an effective witness for peace, or significant service of a positive, creative nature and multiplied the suffering and hardships of the drafted objectors.

6. The presence within the church of a group, both young and old, with a conscience awakened on the subject of peace, with a felt need for an alternative service to war, and a determination to effect such a program.

The passage of the Selective Training and Service Act in September 1940 set in motion the more immediate series of events which led to Civilian Public Service. Section 5 (g) of this act provided that in lieu of induction into the land or naval forces, those conscientiously opposed to war and such induction should be assigned to work of "national importance under civilian direction." This section in the bill as finally adopted was a more generous provision for the conscientious objector than that which had appeared in the first writing of it. In part, at least, this liberalization was due to the efforts put forth by the peace groups in the period just prior to the final passage. At that time their representatives in Washington testified before Congressional committees,

interviewed Congressmen, talked with the heads of various government agencies, and, in short, urged upon all concerned that the provision for the objector be on the broadest possible basis.<sup>43</sup> The Brethren group active in Washington during this period was the Advisory Committee, composed of M. R. Zigler, Paul H. Bowman, and Ross D. Murphy.

Just as the peace churches had interested themselves in securing legal provision for the conscientious objector, they were likewise active in investigating the procedure by which the terms of the law were to be put into practice. Their concern arose from both a general feeling on the matter as an issue of religious significance and the fact that on the basis of experience they expected many of their members of draft status to be affected by this section of the law.

In a series of meetings among themselves and with other interested peace groups, directly following the passage of the act, they discussed the matter thoroughly. They likewise discussed the matter with various government officials involved. The result was that the government asked the peace groups to submit a plan of procedure by which the law might be effectively carried out. This the peace groups did. They proposed three basic plans of service from which the men might choose.

1. Service under the direct control of the several government agencies involved.

2. Service in conjunction with various government agencies, but under the administrative control of the peace groups.

<sup>43</sup>*Annual Conference Minutes*, 1941, page 29 ff. Also see Paul Comly French, *Civilian Public Service* (Washington: NSBRO, 1943, a pamphlet), page 4 ff.

3. Service under the direct control of the peace groups.<sup>44</sup>

It was proposed that in service of the first type the government bear the costs of the program, including transportation, materials, maintenance, and wages at the prevailing military rate.

It was proposed that in service of the second type the government bear the same costs as in type one, but that the peace groups bear the administrative costs.

It was proposed that in service of the third type the peace groups bear the total cost of the program themselves. This class of project would be open only to those men who expressed a preference for such service, and who were individually acceptable to the agency involved. The Brethren did not expect to furnish pay to men choosing this third type.

These proposals were at first endorsed by the government but shortly thereafter turned down.<sup>45</sup>

A meeting was then held to discuss the matter further. It was at this meeting that Clarence A. Dykstra, director of the Selective Service System, asked the peace groups if they could finance and administer all projects for all conscientious objectors.<sup>46</sup> He indicated that if Selective Service assumed any of the costs it would be necessary to go to Congress for an appropriation, and that any money so granted would likely be under such terms as would exclude the religious groups from sharing in the direct management of the program.

This was a situation different from what the peace

<sup>44</sup>Philip Jacob, *The Origins of Civilian Public Service* (Washington: NSBRO, a pamphlet), page 16 ff.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, page 6 ff.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, page 7. Also see French, *op. cit.*, page 8 ff.



groups had hoped for and expected; yet they felt that the major values which they were seeking could be realized best by their participation in directing the service. Tentatively, then, they agreed to assume the costs and administration of all the projects, rather than run the risk of being excluded from a share in the program.

Meanwhile, the Brethren Advisory Committee for Conscientious Objectors, upon whom was falling the burden of these negotiations, felt the need of the advice of the church. They felt the problem to be of such large significance that they should not act alone upon it. Upon their request, a special meeting of the Standing Committee was called for December. At that time, the Standing Committee recommended that the Brethren participate in the plan unfolding, and delegated the administration of the Brethren share to the Brethren Service Committee.<sup>47</sup> In June of 1941 the Annual Conference approved this course, thus launching the Brethren into the venture of Civilian Public Service.

#### WHAT DID THE BRETHREN HOPE TO ACHIEVE THROUGH CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE?

In a general way the spirit which the Brethren brought to this program and the values they sought have been indicated by the preceding pages. The ideal of an alternative service was related by them to their basic Christian beliefs. They entered the program because they felt it offered the best available opportunity for the expression of their ideals in the type of world in which they found themselves—a world wherein patterns of action were be-

<sup>47</sup>*Annual Conference Minutes, 1941, page 53 ff.*

coming more restricted for all society. They held high hopes for achieving within this program progress in the building of a society more nearly approximating the way of life indicated by the New Testament. This seems evident not only from the expressions which they gave to their ideals prior to 1940 but also by those which followed. An intimation of the motivating spirit urging the Brethren on can be found in the report of the service committee in 1942.

Two great issues emerge in this program: The first is the freedom of religion and the second is the relation of church and state. Through the centuries of the Christian church our best thinkers have given much attention to the development of common understanding among all peoples, especially in the field of freedom of conscience. During this year we have developed a co-operative program with the government which is new and untried. . . . This is a unique opportunity for the Church of the Brethren to give itself in the interest of these great issues . . . . If we meet these issues heroically humanity may be blessed through unnumbered channels.<sup>48</sup>

The more specific aims of Brethren Civilian Public Service were well expressed in a memorandum issued in the same year by the office of the national director of Brethren Civilian Public Service, W. Harold Row. It had been compiled on the basis of statements prepared by the camp directors, assistant directors, and some of the camps. Thus, it had a rather broad base. The goals were:

- 1) To provide for individuals and groups conscientiously opposed to war the means of exercising their liberty of conscience and expressing their convictions through a constructive alternative to military service.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 1942, page 32.

2) To render service to community, nation, and world through work which conserves and develops human and physical resources.

3) To develop and exemplify ways of cooperative, non-violent, democratic, and serviceable community living; and in such communities to test and develop by critical study and experience the ideals by reason of which we sought this alternative service.

4) To prepare for service of reconstruction both at home and abroad to alleviate the ill effects of war; to make a continuing effort to eliminate the causes of war and to build a society of mutual appreciation, tolerance, and goodwill—a world of universal brotherhood.

We envisage this program as an opportunity for personal as well as community growth. Almost without exception we undertake it as a demand of the Christian way of life, to which we give our allegiance. Some of us call Civilian Public Service a laboratory for Christian living. Others speak of it as a means to spread the gospel of Christ and to glorify God. Some would use it to lift up and preserve the ideals of the church, to develop future leadership for the church, and to increase the mutual appreciation among denominational groups by giving them a medium of unified action.<sup>40</sup>

Shortly after the publication of this paper the service committee expressed its aims in almost identical terms. Then again, in 1945, it reaffirmed them, prefacing the declaration with recognition of the restrictive factors operating in the program which the experience of four years had brought to the fore:

We recognize that CPS is a limited pacifist instrument, and therefore is not equipped to secure all the values which pacifists hold. We consider CPS as a working compromise between church and state . . . . CPS is not a free, voluntary movement, but a restricted community. It is restricted by the general situation involving total war and public opinion, by pressure groups, by the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 . . . by S[elective] S[ervice] policies and by administrative agency agreements. But within these limitations,

<sup>40</sup>Brethren Camp Directors Memorandum, December 28, 1942.

CPS is to be regarded as a real community, committed to the good life and striving for the democratic participation of all its members in the attainment of its purposes.

Early in 1943 the Committee adopted [a series of aims]. . . . Although these aims have undergone change in expression and emphasis as the CPS movement has evolved, and although many of these objectives have not yet been attained, they do generally represent the purposes which motivate the program today.<sup>50</sup>

In 1946 the Annual Conference, considering the Civilian Public Service movement, listed the objectives which the church had sought to advance through the program. In the main, they were the same as those which had been announced earlier by the service committee. They were:

1. To demonstrate and extend the spirit of brotherhood and justice as a way of life which leads to world-mindedness and to international peace and security.

2. To offer a medium for the preservation and continued expression of the peace testimony of our own and other Christian bodies and to provide a witness against war and violence as instruments of national policy.

3. To assist our government in developing appropriate measures by which religious minorities which conscientiously reject military service may bear witness in times of war in a manner consistent with the principles of religious liberty and the priority of fundamental individual rights which a democratic government must guarantee.<sup>51</sup>

Such then, were the goals sought by the Brethren through the venture into Civilian Public Service. The relation of these goals to their basic Christian doctrine seems self-evident. To the Brethren leaders an alternative service was primarily an expression of a religious

<sup>50</sup>Official minutes of the Brethren Service Committee, November, 1945, page 108.

<sup>51</sup>Annual Conference Minutes, 1946, page 72.

attitude whose roots lay in the teachings of Jesus. It was this attitude which to them was the prize worth seeking, preserving, and extending. Theirs was an effort to apply this attitude to the events of a particular time and place, and the impact of this effort upon the forces encountered resulted in Brethren Civilian Public Service.

## CHAPTER 2

### The Men of Brethren CPS

The viewpoint of the Brethren leaders and the goals which they sought through the development of an alternative service were very important factors in determining the course of the CPS program. Their viewpoint, however, was but one of many which found expression within the movement. Of equal if not greater significance as factors conditioning the evolution of the program were the ideals and thought patterns brought to the venture by the men of Brethren CPS.

These men, the drafted conscientious objectors, represented a wide variety of backgrounds and beliefs. Contrary to first expectations, the majority of those assigned to Brethren units were not of Brethren background. Neither did they represent any other single, more or less homogeneous group. Rather, their most characteristic feature was an individual diversity. Some indication of the great range of differences among them may be had through a study of tables one to five. From the data there presented it seems clear that in religious affiliation and in educational achievement as well as in age, marital status, occupation and geographic background, the differences were marked. Even in regard to the fundamental questions of war, peace, and alternative service there existed a decided variance of opinion among equally

sincere groups. Among the men there were likewise differences in social attitudes, in temperament, and in other respects as well.

### GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

One of the most readily noted points of difference among the assignees of Brethren CPS was that of re-

**Table 1**

#### **Religious Affiliations of Men in Brethren CPS<sup>1</sup>**

Brethren	1,119	Pentecostal	8
Methodist	176	Baptist, Southern	8
Nonaffiliated	129	United Brethren	8
Friends	80	Episcopalian	7
Jehovah's Witness	66	Jennings Chapel	7
Congregational		Faith Tabernacle	6
Christian	48	Jewish	5
Mennonite	47	First Century Gospel	5
Church of Christ	44	Associated Bible	
Christadelphian	39	Students	5
Presbyterian	38	Nazarene	5
Evangelical and		Evangelical Mission	
Reformed	34	Covenant	5
Baptist, Northern	30	Church of the First Born	5
Disciples of Christ	27	Seventh Day	
Lutheran	25	Adventists	5
Unitarian	14	War Resisters League	4
Church of God—		Assemblies of God	4
Independent	14	Plymouth Brethren	4
Evangelical	13	All others	51
Church of God—			
Indiana	12	Total number of	
Catholic	10	cases reported	2,104

<sup>1</sup>From a survey by Glen W. Crago, *Background Data of Men Assigned to Brethren Civilian Public Service*, February 9, 1948, Table II. A special key-sort file of the Brethren Service Committee was used for this study.

ligious affiliation. A survey of two thousand one hundred four assignees (table one) listed approximately half of the men as Brethren (all branches), eight per cent as Methodists, three per cent as Jehovah's Witnesses, and others as members of the Friends, Mennonite, Church of Christ, Christadelphian, Baptist, Congregational Christian, Episcopal, Evangelical and Reformed, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ, Lutheran, Catholic, and other denominations. Nonaffiliates numbered six per cent of the group reported.

At the same time many religious attitudes were represented, including various degrees of fundamentalism, conservatism, liberalism, and modernism, as well as the a-religious attitude of agnosticism, and atheism. Such differences in affiliation and interpretation represented both an obstacle to the development of group unity and an opportunity for the type of growth that comes to individuals as they encounter viewpoints differing from their own. The evidence available indicates that in a general way the assignees felt the contact with those of other faiths was personally enriching. In most instances the prevailing spirit was one of appreciation. It also seems evident that the lack of common cultural bonds and the very diversity of beliefs diminished opportunities for concerted group action.

In educational achievement measured in years of formal schooling the Brethren CPS population also exhibited a wide range of variation. Some of the assignees had little or no formal school education. Others had as high as twenty to twenty-four years of such study. Statistics of one survey<sup>2</sup> indicate that fifteen per cent of the assignees had completed some grammar school study while an ad-

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, Table I.



ditional thirty-one per cent had completed four years of high school. Eighteen per cent had completed four or more years of college-level study. Sixty-nine per cent had completed four years of high school or beyond.

**Table 2**  
**Educational Levels of Men in CPS Compared With Men**  
**in the Armed Forces<sup>3</sup>**

Figures indicate percentages

	Army*			Civilian Public Service		
	Male Officers	Enlisted Men	Navy†	Brethren	Friends	Mennonites
Grammar	1.5	28.6	26.3	15.7	4.4	41.2
1, 2, 3 years H. S.	12.0	32.6	38.6	14.2	7.0	13.9
H. S. graduate	22.2	27.6	28.2	31.6	20.2	23.5
1, 2, 3 years college	26.2	8.2	5.0	20.5	27.9	14.7
College graduate	21.7	2.1	1.9‡	9.0	20.3	4.1
Postgraduate	16.4	0.9		9.0	20.2	2.6
Average years of education	14.0	9.4	9.3			

\* Figures from War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, as of June 30, 1944.

† Figures from Navy Department, Bureau of Naval Personnel.

‡ Four years of college or more.

Attitudes of the assignees toward using the period of drafted service as a time for extending personal educational achievement differed. The goal envisioned by the leaders of the CPS movement—that of forming the

<sup>3</sup>Data is from Adrian E. Gory and David C. McClellan, "Characteristics of Conscientious Objectors in World War II," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XI, 5 (September-October 1947), page 248. Number of cases reported were: male officers 692,000; enlisted men 7,145,000; navy 3,017,172; BCPS 1,974; FCPS 1,711; MCPS 2,515.

<sup>4</sup>Chapter 4 discusses the educational program of the camps at some length.

camps and units into educational institutions of a new order—met with hearty approval by many. A large group, however, was neutral or apathetic toward the opportunities offered, while a small group tended to resent efforts that seemed directed toward “educating” them. Apathy increased especially as the term of CPS service was extended from one to four and more years.<sup>4</sup>

Figures on the age levels of the Brethren CPS men as compiled in July 1943<sup>5</sup> indicate that approximately half of the population was between twenty-two and twen-

**Table 3**  
**Age Distribution in Brethren CPS Compared**  
**With Armed Forces<sup>6</sup>**

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>18-24 years</i>	<i>25-29 years</i>	<i>30-34 years</i>	<i>35 years and over</i>
Brethren CPS	51.0%	34.2%	10.1%	4.5%
Army* (enlisted)	44.9%	30.3%	15.8%	9.0%
Navy† (enlisted and officers)	58.7%	19.3%	11.7%	10.3%

\* Estimated figures from War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, as of September, 1945.

† Estimated figures from Navy Department, Bureau of Naval Personnel, as of July 31, 1945.

ty-six years of age. Approximately three quarters of the population was between twenty-one and twenty-eight years. The extremes were represented by those of eighteen years at one end and those of forty-five years at the other.

<sup>5</sup>From a compilation by Harold S. Guetzkow, *Tables on Certain Characteristics of the Civilian Public Service Population* (a mimeographed report), Table III. Number of cases reported, 1,452.

<sup>6</sup>Gory and McClelland, *op. cit.* Figures on Brethren CPS men are from Guetzkow, *op. cit.* Number of cases reported were: BCPS 1,452; army 7,100,000; navy 3,328,821.

A comparison of age distribution in Brethren CPS with age distribution in the armed forces is given in table three.

All the major geographic sections of the United States were represented in Brethren CPS. The area furnishing the largest percentage of assignees was the east-central group of states—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. Over one third of the assignee population came from that section (table four). The six individual states contributing the greatest number of men were: Pennsylvania (10.9%); Ohio (10.4%); Indiana (10.1%); California (8.1%); Illinois (7.3%), and Michigan (7.2%).<sup>7</sup> Relatively few conscientious objectors were inducted into Brethren CPS from the Rocky Mountain states or from the New England states.

<sup>7</sup>From *Brethren Civilian Public Service Personnel Data Summary*, June 30, 1943, pages 3 and 4. An interesting sidelight on geographic backgrounds is provided by the following excerpt from an article discussing differences of language usage among the assignees.

"Probably what we first noticed when arriving among men from many different parts of the country was that some expressions worked pretty well, even though we had not been used to hearing them! For instance, to a man from Kansas a feeling of surprise and pleasure came from hearing Ray Sullivan of Tennessee say, 'Along about *dusky* we are going to get out of here.' And to most of us from the South and the Midwest, a certain salty flavor came from hearing Dan Daniels of New York say, 'Why, he's a big *schlemiel*!' Then there are such expressions as that of Harl Tipton of North Carolina when he was asked what he had been doing over the week-end—'Oh, just *codgerin* around . . . .' Sometimes the variation in speech involves . . . the way the words are put together. For instance: 'He was a no count man—a *man bad to drink*, you know.'

"Another part of the richness of speech in camp is the background of experience hinted at. Sometimes from the things said the listener can picture a whole way of life not at all like what he has known. When Bryan Mills says, 'He was the main singing leader around the barber shop there,' those who have not had the chance of living where barber shops are places for singing get a sudden realization of what they have missed. And when Jarrott Harkey says, 'We're in the high cotton now!' those who have not lived in the cotton country get an insight into the background of a new part of the world.

"And Hugh Boyd . . . with a sharp, imagination-prodding judgment of one who has been telling about his own good deeds: 'Ah, yes,' says Hugh with a knowing wag of his head, 'you went to church all right, but you was a thinkin' smilin' thoughts!'" (William Stafford, "How We Talk," *Peace Pathways*, June 10, 1942, page 6).

**Table 4**  
**Place of Induction of CPS Men by Regions<sup>8</sup>**

<i>Region</i>	<i>Brethren CPS</i>	<i>Friends CPS</i>	<i>Mennonite CPS</i>	<i>All CPS</i>
East Central	35.0%	17.4%	30.6%	29.5%
South	17.6%	9.2%	7.9%	11.8%
Middle Atlantic	16.5%	39.6%	14.2%	24.0%
West Central	14.0%	9.0%	34.0%	18.3%
Pacific Coast	13.5%	13.3%	9.5%	10.9%
Rocky Mountain	2.8%	1.8%	3.8%	2.7%
New England	0.6%	9.7%		2.9%

The large majority of men assigned to Brethren units were unmarried. A survey of 1943<sup>9</sup> lists seventy-five per cent of the population as single and twenty-five per cent as married. A later survey<sup>10</sup> lists fifty-nine per cent as single and forty-one per cent as married.

The significance of marital status as a factor conditioning the reactions of the individual assignee and the evolution of the CPS program is related at one point to the no-pay feature of CPS. This arrangement made it almost impossible for the man to assume the normal position of wage earner for the family. Many serious problems issued from this combination of factors. Marital status also affected the development of group life within the

<sup>8</sup>Guetzkow, *op. cit.*, Table V. The New England region included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut; the Middle Atlantic region, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia; the Rocky Mountain region, Montana, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico; the Pacific Coast region, California, Oregon, Washington; the east central region, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois; the west central region, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas; the South, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas. The approximate dates of survey were BCPS (7/43); FCPS (12/44); MCPS (3/44); All CPS (12/44). The number of cases reported were: BCPS (1,457); FCPS (1,749); MCPS (2,297); All CPS (7,777).

<sup>9</sup>Guetzkow, *op. cit.*, Table IV.

<sup>10</sup>Figures taken from key-sort file of Brethren Service Committee. Most of the data in this file was compiled in 1945.

CPS communities. In some instances the wives and children participated in the unit activities and thus tended to introduce a normal element into the group life. In other instances family ties caused individual assignees to withdraw from participation in the camp activities.

The major pre-induction occupations of the assignees are listed in table five. The largest single group (twenty-nine per cent) came from farming or other agricultural

**Table 5**  
**Pre-induction Occupations of Assignees of Brethren CPS<sup>11</sup>**

		<i>Number of men</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
Farming and Agricultural Work		599	29%
Farm hands, general farms	274		
General farmers	186		
Others	139		
Professional		362	18%
Teachers, secondary	52		
Teachers, college	27		
Teachers, elementary	23		
Social and welfare workers	31		
Musicians and music teachers	28		
Draftsmen	20		
Others	181		
Students		245	12%
Semiskilled Trades and Artisans		239	12%
Skilled Trades and Artisans		196	9%
Clerical		180	9%
Managerial		83	4%
Sales		65	3%
Others		20	1%
Unskilled		70	3%
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Number of cases examined		2,059	100%

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

work. Eighteen per cent of the men had been employed in a professional capacity. Within this group the teaching profession was most heavily represented. Clerical and sales vocations had been followed by twelve per cent of the population. Twelve per cent were students when drafted. Only three per cent of the total group surveyed were listed as engaged in unskilled work.<sup>12</sup> In the light of this data it seems evident that the CPS work projects afforded only a limited opportunity for the utilization of the occupational skills and training of the assignees.

The length of term of individual service within CPS was also a factor of significance in the total pattern of population characteristics. Each year the population became increasingly a "veteran" group, for relatively few discharges were issued during the main course of the program. The significance of length of service was directly related to some of the important features of CPS which were first planned on the basis of a year's service (for example, the lack of pay, dependency allotments, and compensation insurance). These features became more and more a difficult problem as the years passed. Table six lists the service status of the population just prior to the beginning of systematic demobilization.

**Table 6**

**Length of Service Terms of BCPS Assignees**

**October 1945<sup>13</sup>**

<i>4 years of service</i>	<i>3 years of service</i>	<i>2 years of service</i>	<i>Less than 2 years</i>
161 men	541 men	635 men	636 men

<sup>12</sup>Data taken from Crago, *op. cit.*, Table III.

<sup>13</sup>Statistics are from NSBRO form No. 114, October 1945, page 3.

## SOME REPRESENTATIVE TYPES

Many diverse types of assignees were present in Brethren CPS, ranging from those who were stable, mature leaders and creative thinkers to those whom it became necessary to discharge from service because of emotional instability. Between these two extremes were others exhibiting attitudes and responses of still a different quality. So numerous were these divergent patterns of personality that an adequate classification of the Brethren CPS population in this regard is practically impossible. Yet some distinct groupings may be recognized as occurring rather frequently and as possessing fairly definite features. Four such are described here.

Insight into the nature of these types may be had by considering representative biographical sketches of individual campers.<sup>14</sup> The first of these illustrate constructive, intellectually alert leaders who participated fully in camp life. They were creative and adventurous in spirit and sought the utmost achievement possible within the framework of the CPS program.

Man of 28, a member of the Methodist Church with two years of college training, belongs to Fellowship of Reconciliation (F. O. R.). He is married and has one child. . . . In camp he has shown himself a vigorous, fine-spirited man who enters eagerly into camp activities and wastes no time complaining.

Man of 23, member of Brethren Church, was college student; able, willing, co-operative, active in educational and religious affairs. Has had one of the camp's hardest jobs and has done it well.

Man of 26, a capable, hard-working person who belongs to one of the traditional peace churches. He has a forward-looking reli-

<sup>14</sup>These case studies are reproduced from a report of Dr. Anton T. Bolsen, *The Morale of the Conscientious Objectors in Church Operated Service Units*. The report was based on an intensive three weeks' study of one of the large Brethren base camps. The author, however, has not included the general types of classification suggested by Dr. Bolsen.

gious attitude. He is a college graduate and was a teacher by profession. He participates in all camp activities, both educational and religious.

Man of 28, a graduate student in mechanical engineering who changed over into social science; member of F.O.R. but not of church. Married and has one child. A fine member of camp community, intelligent, friendly, co-operative; active in educational affairs but not much interested in present religious set-up.

Man of 28, a graduate of a good college and of an excellent theological school who refused to claim exemption by virtue of his ministerial standing. A hard, devoted worker of proven integrity.

Man of 35, of German ancestry, a very competent, hard-working man whose motivation is deeply religious. . . . He is quiet, methodical, friendly, participates in all camp activities and is liked and respected by all.

A second group of assignees included men who, in contrast to the first group, were primarily followers rather than leaders. They were characteristically co-operative in spirit and cheerful in carrying out their assigned tasks. Within this group were many whose opposition to war was mainly the result of the traditional religious teachings of their churches. Their participation in camp activities, especially those of an intellectual nature, was limited. Representative of this type were the following:

Boy of 20, comes from a traditional peace church background. He is a good dependable worker, but takes little part in camp activities. His attitude is cheerful and co-operative.

Man of 21 who comes from a very conservative peace church. He is a good worker and is co-operative in his attitude but participates little in camp activities and has little intellectual outreach.

Man of 26, a farmer with two years of high school who belongs to a peace church. A very good worker . . . . He accepts the situation and is co-operative in his attitude. He makes little effort to change things.

Man of 40, belongs to a . . . sect which believes in the imminent



second coming and is strongly pacifist in its teachings. A man of the finest spirit. He does his work faithfully but takes no part in camp activities other than those of his religious group. A very skillful craftsman.

Man of 27, a farm-hand with 7th grade education, a member of a Holiness sect. A very ignorant but extremely religious person. Strongly fundamentalist in his beliefs, bases his pacifism on the Bible teaching "Thou shalt not kill." He is cheerful, hard-working, co-operative, liked by every one.

Man of 25, has a traditional peace church back-ground. He is one of the camp's finest workers—quiet, faithful, dependable, attitude co-operative but takes little part in camp activities.

A third group of assignees were those characterized by personal frustrations. They resented deeply the compulsory aspects of their assignment and developed various psychological escape mechanisms, the most common of which took the form of "going S.Q." (sick quarters). In many instances these men became psychoneurotic with accompanying physical disability. Typical of these were the following:

Man of 24 . . . with high school education . . . . Very resentful. Complained of bronchial asthma and had to sit down to breathe several times while sawing thru a 10 inch log.

Man of 35, a college graduate, highly intelligent but moody. He had actual physical disability . . . but was discharged chiefly because of his attitude. He was fitful in his work, in spite of light assignments, resentful in his attitude and had a vile temper.

Man of 26 . . . with high school education . . . . He was a powerfully built man who complained constantly of pains in legs and back. He was a poor worker, resentful and antagonistic in attitude. He was unable to sleep at night.

Man of 25 . . . with two years of college. He complained of multiple allergies and stomach upsets and was on continual S. Q. His attitude was discontented and resentful.

Man of 31 . . . with 8th grade education . . . vegetarian; morose

and unco-operative. He had continual quarrels with project superintendent.

Man of 24, a university graduate; unable and unwilling to work and unable to adjust to camp life. Enuresis two nights out of three. Became more and more depressed.

Assignees of this group were often (but not always) discharged following medical and psychiatric examinations. The process of securing such a discharge, however, was long and involved, and in the interim the man usually suffered further personal disintegration. This class acted as a deterrent to the development of group morale, and presented many complex problems to the camp administration.

Another group of assignees were those who responded to CPS life with mixed feelings and attitudes. At various times they exhibited elements of relationship to all three groups which have been described. Representative of such men were the following:

Man of 27 . . . . He has a college education and is intelligent and friendly. His reasons for the pacifist stand seem definitely mixed. He shows considerable resentment to authority. He participates actively in camp affairs.

Man of 26 . . . . His stand is due to the traditional teachings of his church. He is a skilled mechanic and a conscientious worker. He has been in camp three years. He has recently been getting increasingly nervous and has developed physical symptoms. Worry over his inability to support his wife and children seems the chief factor. He participated in camp activities and is basically conscientious but there is much resentment.

Man of 25, a farmer who belongs to one of the peace churches and took his stand on the basis of its teachings. He is a good worker who has participated little in camp activities. There is no apparent resentment in his attitude but he is now much depressed. He has been sick a good deal since his arrival in camp.

Man of 25, was a teaching fellow at a large university, belongs to a liberal church and to the F. O. R.; a serious, hard-working fellow, who participates in camp activities and is keeping up with his own special studies. His antagonism . . . is probably a symptom of inward rebelliousness.

Man of 26, a graduate student in a large university, belongs to F. O. R. but not to any church. A brilliant fellow who has been very active in the camp's educational program. He has been very critical of the camp administration . . . . He is opposed to the church's participation in the CPS plan.

Man of 26, a high school teacher and a member of a liberal church and of the F. O. R. He is actuated by idealistic and genuinely religious motives. He is active in camp affairs, both religious and educational. He is however, moody, gets discouraged easily and gives evidence of much repressed hostility.

Man of 26 . . . has been in camp three years. He had previously been a college student. He is active in the educational program. He is at times quite resentful and says frankly that his stand as a C.O. was determined by the attempt to put pressure on him. In him and in many others there is "a sort of anti-feeling."

Man of 29 . . . member of a liberal church. His pacifist stand was due to his pastor's influence. Since coming to camp his zeal has waned. He began complaining about conscription. He became bitter toward the camp administration and developed a strong martyr complex. He has been for four months on S. Q. with various physical complaints.

Other types were present, as well, including men who were natural leaders, and, at the same time, negative toward many aspects of CPS. This group is described in part in the following section.

#### WAR, PEACE, AND ALTERNATIVE SERVICE

Perhaps the most marked and important of the differences among the men of Brethren CPS centered around the divergent viewpoints held by them in regard to the

fundamental questions of war, peace, and alternative service. Such a divergency came as a surprise to many of the leaders of the program who in their early planning tended to assume that "religious objectors to war" would hold a somewhat common point of view upon these subjects. This surprise was also shared by others who had occasion to consider the problem. One observer wrote in the following vein:

The most shocking single observation of my whole tour was the discovery of the unbelievably wide divergencies among the men in even their attitude towards war and peace. Having received advanced statistics from most of the camps . . . I was not too greatly surprised by the vast divergencies due to differences of religious denominational backgrounds, ranging all the way from Judaism, Roman Catholicism, J.W.'ism and other extreme forms of religious fundamentalism . . . to the most extreme forms of actual agnosticism, atheism, and anarchism. But the vastly divergent reactions to even war and peace which I found in the camps were more than just a surprise to me. I had prepared, as one of my lectures, an address on "What the Outside World Expects of C.P.S.," only to discover—in the very first camp which I visited (and repeated in almost every other camp later on)—that to announce this subject would have meant to have kept many assignees from coming to hear it, because many of them, I was told in staff meeting after staff meeting, "do not believe in C.P.S., so why should they come and listen to a talk on such a subject?" When I offered to change the words "C.P.S." in my subject to "Pacifists," I was told that this would not do either, since quite a few of the assignees frankly state they are *not* pacifists and do not wish to be called that. I finally gave the address under the announced title: "What Does the Outside World Expect of the Conscientious Objector?" . . . .<sup>15</sup>

Broadly viewed, most of the various beliefs held were related to one or the other of two main centers of

<sup>15</sup>Report of Paul Arthur Schilpp to Morris T. Keeton, September 16, 1943, page 2.

thought.<sup>16</sup> The first of these regarded Civilian Public Service as basically evil in nature. The service was looked upon as a phase of military conscription and as a form of co-operation with a war-making government. Assignees of this outlook felt that acceptance of the CPS program was an acceptance of the right of the government to conscript men for military work. Thus, "CPS is too closely akin to MILITARY conscription; military conscription is a device without which modern war as we know it could not exist, and military conscription in itself must be opposed equally as war."<sup>17</sup>

Others emphasized the viewpoint that, even apart from the military aspects of the draft act, conscription should be opposed. They felt that a free society could neither be built nor be maintained by compulsion. For them, even the more socially significant work in CPS was diminished in value because "regardless of the work that we do, we continue to substantiate the process of conscription . . . . How can we build the cooperative society in compliance with a process that denies freedom of choice?"<sup>18</sup>

A number of men of this viewpoint eventually "walked out" of CPS. Their direct refusal to engage in work as

<sup>16</sup>It is very difficult, however, to characterize the Brethren CPS population adequately in these regards. Brief, logical analyses do not convey the sense of the total camp situation with all the many cross currents of thought and emotion that were present. The discussion following is an abstraction, from the total Brethren CPS milieu, of certain major attitudes and ways of thinking that seem important to the author. It should be borne in mind by the reader that there were many, many different degrees and nuances of interpretation and belief on any one concern.

As an abstract and as an analysis the material can be helpful for purposes of thought about and understanding of Brethren CPS. An analysis, however, is not identical with a reportorial account of events.

<sup>17</sup>From *My Viewpoint*, a written statement of an assignee, October 1, 1945, page 1.

<sup>18</sup>From *Toward a Positive Affirmation*, a written statement by an assignee, November 7, 1942, page 1.

conscripts was a protest against the draft law. They felt the greatest service they could render society was to deny the right of the government to conscript and to refuse to contribute to the success of such a program. Thus, "leaving Civilian Public Service, in a protest against conscription, is as I see it, one of the greatest contributions toward future freedom that . . . I can make."<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand a number of men who felt the program to be wrong remained but refused to co-operate with the work project of the government or the administration of the units. In some instances they sought, through active opposition, to have CPS displaced. To many of this group CPS represented a kind of "lesser jail" or "trusty farm." They felt, however, that it offered greater freedom and opportunity for the promotion of their goals of peaceful living than its alternative, imprisonment.

In contrast to this interpretation, a second center of thought viewed Civilian Public Service as a legitimate function of the state. Assignees of this outlook felt that as long as there were no violations of individual conscience the government might lawfully demand their services. To them Civilian Public Service was an alternative to military conscription, rather than a phase of it. They recognized specific injustices as existent within the plan but felt that these might be eliminated without denying the validity of the total program. Many men of this belief found much in common with the goals of the church sponsor.

<sup>19</sup>From *Why I Left C.P.S.*, a written statement of an assignee, September 28, 1943, page 1 ff. Men who walked out of CPS were usually prosecuted in the Federal courts for violation of the draft act and were subject to imprisonment in the Federal prisons.

In more positive terms, many assignees of this persuasion hoped, through the work projects, to contribute materially to the conservation of both the human and the natural resources of the world. Service in mental hospitals and training schools, in scientific experiments, in public health and rehabilitation projects, on farms and agricultural experiment stations, in relief units, and in other areas was looked upon as leading to this goal. At a time when all the world seemed engaged in a work of destruction they sought to render a positive service of peace. To some of this group such a service was regarded as an opportunity to "witness" for peace, to demonstrate to the world a way superior to that of war. Others felt that, apart from an extension of the peace witness, Civilian Public Service was a practical means of conserving the peace belief among pacifists themselves. They interpreted experience in Germany and Russia as indicating the value of such a program, for in the latter country, with a comparable alternative service, the pacifist belief had been maintained. In Germany, on the other hand, where no alternative was available, the pacifist witness had diminished greatly.

CPS was also looked upon as an opportunity for pacifists to meet others of like belief and through study and association together to work toward a common plan of action for building a peaceful world. A number of assignees emphasized the opportunities for growth in education that Civilian Public Service offered. Many programs of study in fields of direct concern to these men, such as relief and rehabilitation, pacifism, co-operatives, Bible, community living, and others, were available in the units. CPS was likewise thought of as an expression



of a religious attitude—a predication of a willingness to serve and of the sacredness of life.

Through all these many value affirmations there ran currents of dissatisfaction with what seemed to be specific injustices within the plan of operation. Conceding the right of the state to draft them to service, many assignees sought to improve the terms under which they worked. The lack of pay, dependency allotments, or compensation insurance was a problem of vital concern. The seeming unimportance of some of the base-camp work was also a point of friction. Other issues to which the assignees gave much thought were democratic procedures in CPS administration, the relationship of the church agencies to the state, and the expansion of the program to include more work of direct and immediate benefit to persons.<sup>20</sup>

Such issues brought to the fore at least two divergent patterns of response. One observer posed the question in this light: "Does a man seek to conquer injustice by love—i.e., demonstrate the sincerity of his purpose by producing all that is required of him and even more, or . . . does he boldly challenge injustice and set about to dethrone it—i.e., resort to 'social action' . . . ." <sup>21</sup>

Adherents of the former view thought mainly in terms of effecting change through loving service and personal sacrifice. Their ideas and objectives were closely related to a religious philosophy of service. To some of them the "second-mile" attitude was the natural one to adopt. They were among the campers who volunteered in re-

<sup>20</sup>These topics are considered in some detail in other chapters in the book. The relationship of the church agencies to the state and the question of whether or not the church should co-operate with the state as an administrative agency in CPS were closely associated with the whole problem of alternative service in the minds of most assignees.

<sup>21</sup>Glenn L. Evans, Educational report, Waldport, June-July 1944, page 6.



sponse to special emergencies, and who cheerfully assumed duties far beyond the required stint of labor. They were leaders and faithful participants in the religious life program. Their actions seemed to be predicated on the assumption that the CPS experience was worth while. Even as the tone of morale lowered in the units, these assignees were very mild critics of church administration, feeling appreciative of the support of the church groups. To them CPS represented a vast improvement over the treatment of conscientious objectors in World War I. Although considerable in numbers, this type of camper was by nature quiet and to some extent self-effacing so that a casual observer of Brethren CPS seldom sensed the total weight of such a group. Likewise, they tended to produce few written documents, such as open letters to friends, tracts, mimeographed "viewpoints," or critiques of CPS. They performed a full day's work, assumed additional duties when necessary and made a quiet witness for the ideals which they held.

The second group sought to effect change through more direct means of action. Through protest and through non-co-operation at the points of concern they hoped to remove undesirable features from the program. Some of the techniques employed were the petition, fasting, the use of political action, the work slowdown, and the strike. These assignees supplemented such techniques by offering positive suggestions and plans. Generally they were forceful in the presentation of their ideas. In discussion and in written summaries they presented their point of view clearly and logically. On the whole, this group was quite critical of church administration and of the CPS experiment.

Within the CPS program each pattern of response tended, to some extent, to reduce the effectiveness of the other. Thus, equally sincere groups often found themselves seeking a common goal along widely divergent paths.

In the light of the foregoing chapters, it seems evident that Brethren CPS contained within itself many diverse value systems. At some points the several ideologies and modes of action came together in mutual accord, while at others they diverged sharply. All in turn interacted with other factors in the total milieu as well as with one another. The program which emerged, described in the following chapters, reflected this diversity and interplay of ideas.



## Part II

### The Brethren CPS Units: Base Camps and Special Projects

*In the beginning of CPS the organization of the assignees into working units centered around a pattern known as the "base camp." For several months following the opening of their first camp at Lagro, Indiana, in May 1941, this was the only type of unit sponsored by the Brethren. As the program progressed, however, and experience was gained, another type of organization came to receive favorable attention, and to be developed, until by the middle of the year 1943 there was well established a second pattern, the "special project." Although the number of working units increased year by year, and the field of work broadened to include a wider range of activities, these two patterns—the base camp and the special project, each with its unique characteristics, and yet each related to the other at many points—were the basic modes of organization to which all units more or less conformed.*



## CHAPTER 3

### Base Camps: The Work Projects and the Camp Organization

During the years 1941-1946 the Brethren administered a total of fourteen base camps. Although each of these units varied in some aspects from every other, each also was marked by qualities held in common with all. It is these common qualities which, taken together, afford a picture of the typical base camp.

#### THE WORK PROJECTS

The work to which the men of the base camps were assigned was, on the whole, of a manual, outdoor, unskilled or semiskilled type. Very little previous training was needed for the performance of an acceptable day's labor. In each camp the project was carried on in co-operation with one of three Federal agencies: the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture, the National Park Service of the Department of Interior, or the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture. The choice fell upon these agencies for several reasons. In the first place, such work was then looked upon as of greater significance than in the later years of the program. In the second place, these agencies "were chosen because these departments had a trained personnel in the camps system and because the public was thought

to be in a better mood to accept something that was already in operation rather than to start something new.”<sup>1</sup> In the third place, they were apparently one of the few acceptable groups willing to use conscientious objectors in those first months.

The testimony of General Lewis B. Hershey before Congress is enlightening in this regard:

We went begging to find places to put them [conscientious objectors], and the Department of Interior and the Department of Agriculture were good enough to promise to take over certain projects for them. . . . at the present time there is a great demand for them, but we have certain commitments that we gave . . . .<sup>2</sup>

### *Forest Service Camps*

By far the largest number of the Brethren base camps were operated in conjunction with the Forest Service. There were ten such units established in all: four in Michigan, two in Pennsylvania, two in California, and two in Oregon. The first camp in Michigan was Cope-mish,<sup>3</sup> located at the site of the Brethren work camp on the Joseph farm. This unit was very short-lived, opening in June 1941 and closing in July of the same year, when it was moved to a new site, Camp Manistee.<sup>4</sup> Here there was a longer stay until in July 1942 the camp was again moved, this time to Wellston. Meanwhile another Michigan unit, Camp Walhalla, had been established. Walhalla was opened in May 1942 and remained in operation until November 1943, at which time its campers dispersed to a number of different units, although Wells-

<sup>1</sup>“Paul French Visits 21, Analyzes, Prophecies,” *The Columbian*, I, 15, (Aug. 15, 1942), page 1.

<sup>2</sup>*Congress Looks At The Conscientious Objector* (Washington: NSBRO), page 64.

<sup>3</sup>CPS No. 1, also known as Marilla and Manistee.

<sup>4</sup>CPS No. 17, also known as Stronach.

ton was the direction taken by many. Camp Wellston proved more long-lived than its predecessors, not closing until September 1946.

In Pennsylvania, Kane was the first camp established, opening in July 1941 and closing in November 1944. The second camp in this state, Marienville, was an offshoot of Kane, drawing its personnel from this parent camp in September 1942 and returning there in large part upon closing in November 1943.

Of the two California camps, Santa Barbara was the first established, opening in June 1942 and remaining until April 1944, when it was moved to a new location, Belden. Camp Belden closed in May 1946.

Cascade Locks, Oregon, with the longest service record of all Brethren camps, opened in November 1941 and did not close until July 1946. Waldport, the second Oregon camp, opened in October 1942, and closed in April 1946.

### *Project Work: Fire Fighting*

Common to all of the base camps, but of especial significance to those of the Forest Service, was the duty of fighting fire. Although the total days spent in this manner were relatively low in proportion to the time devoted to other types of work, they were among the most valuable in point of service to the nation. On the west coast especially, where the summers are very dry, this was the major occupation in terms of the significance of the work.

Men chosen for the "first action" fire crew generally performed minor chores in the immediate vicinity of the pumper truck; and when a call came it was not







unusual for them to be loaded and away within two or three minutes. Often they were able to hold the acreage burned to a small area. In some cases, however, when the circumstances were unfavorable, hundreds and even thousands of acres were burned. Where man power was short and the fire prolonged, the men were gone from camp for several days. In such instances emergency fire camps were set up immediately adjacent to the burn, and here the men were fed and took what sleep they could in bed rolls.

Fire fighting offered a dramatic contrast to the day-by-day routine of camp life.<sup>5</sup> The morale of the men was always high as they responded to an emergency call and prepared to spend days and nights in intense discomfort and exhausting, often dangerous work. When the fire siren blew, men ran from all directions to the truck, seizing on the way army overcoats, gloves and socks, "K rations," and sometimes complete outfits of old, warm clothes. Dressing on the run they shouted in anticipation of the hours or days ahead of them in the smoke- and flame-filled forests. The following account of a C. O. crew on a fire in the lava country of northern California aptly describes a typical fire-fighting experience:

The things we have seen on fires! They were the big adventures . . . of West Coast CPS. We tore along the highway, the wind buffeting us while we peeled oranges and squirmed down among the duffel bags for shelter.

Twenty miles from camp we turned into the sawmill road and picked up the rest of our men—about fifteen of them, where they

<sup>5</sup>The most dramatic fire-fighting unit in CPS was that of the "smokejumpers" in Montana. There the men parachuted from planes to the site of the fire. This unit was administered primarily by the Mennonites, with the Friends and the Brethren co-operating. An account of this project may be found in the history of Mennonite Civilian Public Service by Dr. Melvin Gingerich (in preparation).

had been piling brush all day. . . . We all transferred to the big crew truck, with plank benches across the back, all open to the scenery. We distributed to the brush crew the overcoats we had brought them from camp, and some put the coats on at once, for we were going to cross high country, and even in the late afternoon the air from the snow near the road gets bitter.

[When the crew arrived] we set up tables, and a generator and light circuit, and a telephone. Then we began the institution of feeding—a tremendous institution on a fire.

Night closed in on us as we ate—steak, potatoes, peas, tomatoes, lettuce, bread, butter, jam, raspberries, oranges, coffee, and a second helping all around. . . . After supper we each took five blankets from the supply truck and hunted for a smooth place on the ground.

[The next morning] each man was issued a backpack pump, weighing about forty pounds or so, and a shovel or an axe. Five CO's were issued to each Forest Service man; and, to the grumbling accompaniment of sounds the cooks were making in protest of their dishwashing, we filed away into the brush. . . . Volcanic dust swirled about our boots, and we began to climb a jagged lava slope, in an area sparsely overgrown with brush and some big pines. We began to build a "fire line," or cleared space, downhill, about fifty feet from the fire, which was still just a ground blaze and quiet from the night coolness and humidity. We built about three fourths of a mile of line, working farther and farther from the fire as the day's heat allowed the flames to rise; and then we backfired into the burn. It was a beautiful sight. I could look up now and then and see, framed through a tangle of boughs, a chopper, his arms raised, his axe swinging; or a tired packer, the curve of his back a picture of weariness, bringing in water. Along part of our line the cover was fir, incense cedar, and ponderosa pine, with underbrush of nutmeg and madrone.

Our line held. By noon we were patrolling, now and then attacking spot fires that sprang up from sparks alighting beyond the lines; and as the midday wind came up we sometimes had the breathtaking experience of seeing the fire crown in places within the burn and go roaring like a waterfall, and spreading at runaway speed through the tops of snags and live fir and pine.

After noon we were sent to a new section of the fire, leaving a few men to patrol where we had been. Our task was to dig and chop out any hot tree, and to feel with our bare hands amidst the duff of the forest floor to find hot places; for the fire would eat along under the surface of the punky needles and bark. Whenever we uncovered a hot place, we squirted water on it from our heavy backpacks. Every half-hour or so we had to hike back to the pumper truck to get a refill.

By midafternoon the fire was under control. We cleared off a place and sat down for sandwiches one of the packers had brought. Then we got up and patrolled, sighting along the ground for the tiniest smokes; for the afternoon wind would be dangerous. When the wind increased, about four, it raised three smokes in our area. We put them out.<sup>6</sup>

### *Project Work: Other Activities*

Closely related to fire fighting was a class of duties concerned largely with preventative or preparatory measures for fire control. Thus, some of the men were instructed and then assigned to the maintenance and operation of the portable, two-way radio sets used at the fires. Others were trained in telephone repair work and detailed to this field of activity. Meanwhile, during the dry season, it was customary for small groups of assignees to pack off to remote side camps, where they served chiefly as fire crews, constantly on the alert for an alarm. At the various warehouses much of the work was directly or indirectly allied to fire operations. Here the campers repaired and cleaned tools and equipment, loaded trucks, handled supplies, and performed a multitude of other jobs which bore upon this very important function.

When the dry season had passed and the fire hazard

<sup>6</sup>William E. Stafford, *Down in My Heart* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1947), page 54 ff.

was thereby reduced, many days were spent in building roads and trails into the back country, and the way was thus prepared for speedier transportation in the event of need. In some areas the assignees felled hundreds of the dead trees of the forest, since it was these "snags" that burned so furiously when once ignited, and scattered sparks over dozens of acres.

Conscientious objectors were used also to build and maintain the forest lookout systems. These consisted of a series of towers placed on high mountains, commanding a clear view of the surrounding area. From these lookouts it was possible with the aid of field glasses, charts, maps, and instruments to detect and locate a fire almost as soon as it started. By radio or telephone the alarm was then given to the central crew dispatcher. An assignee stationed in a lookout tower in the Blue Ridge Mountain section of Virginia writes an interesting description of his "cabin in the sky":

. . . twenty-four hours a day. . . . I'm sitting on top of the world. . . . The only thing above me is the blue sky.

This is "Sharp Top"—on the Peaks of Otter, one of the highest points in the Blue Ridge Mountains. The cabin is actually an observation tower for fire detection. It overlooks the Jefferson National Forest and thousands of miles of surrounding territory.

I came up Saturday afternoon with Ranger Luck. We drove for miles, zig-zagging our way up the mountainside. We would sometimes drive almost halfway around the mountain and back to find that we were only a few feet higher than when we started.

We finally reached the end of the road, but our journey was only begun. We had to carry the supplies the remaining distance, up a trail hewn out of almost solid stone.

Eventually we arrived at the crest of the peak and the foot of . . . the boulder heap.

Four sets of stairs lead up over the rocks and on to the tower

itself, which is a structure fourteen feet square, erected on a frame sixty-five feet high which is set in concrete blocks, which in turn are embedded in the crevices of the rocks. The cabin is all windows except one corner which is a door. It is very homelike inside with tables, chairs, bed, stove, dresser, and two telephones. Electricity is not available, so a kerosene lamp is used for light. In the center of the room is a large table on which is located a map of the surrounding territory. There are instruments for reckoning the location of a fire by miles and degrees.

The most disagreeable factor is the wind. It is terrific at times. It usually blows all nite with a tremendous velocity.

The one thing I dislike most is that I have to do my own cooking. I am still living on hickory nuts, and yesterday I found a nice persimmon tree, so I'll get by even if they don't send me any supplies. I'll get used to the cooking, however—as hunger demands. I'll get used to a lot of other things, also, that I'm not accustomed to. But I intend to make the best of it and when I go down, about Christmas time, I hope to be able to say that these two months I spent close to nature were not entirely in vain.<sup>7</sup>

Important as it was, fire control was not the only large service rendered. Many weeks and months were given over to the program of reforestation designed to replant the logged-out and burned-over areas of the national domain. To this end crews of assignees labored in Forest Service nurseries caring for the seedlings cultivated there. At planting time these were delivered in great numbers to the planting crews. The following account is descriptive of this phase of Forest Service work:

Three hundred thousand trees were planted in five weeks of typical Oregon rain, hail, and a minimum of sunshine.

Rousing cheers rose as weary Larch Mountain men finished the last of the "little fir trees."

Swarming over a country left desolate by logging operations and

<sup>7</sup>Aubrey Garber, "Cabin In The Sky," *This Is Our Story*, II, 2 (Nov. 1943), page 12 ff.

forest fires, the mountaineers sunk their planting hoes in what dirt they could find, reached into their canvas "shopping bags" for the last of the future giants to be, tamped the trees in, and then left them very much alone among the fallen logs.<sup>8</sup>

In the forests of Michigan, the men of Camp Wellston were engaged in a similar task. There, in two years they set out over 1,566,000 red and white pine trees, covering approximately 1,426 acres.<sup>9</sup> This work restored many tracts of land to a fuller usefulness, and increased the wealth of the nation.

There were, in addition, a multitude of other jobs performed by the assignees. Many of them were trained to be "timber cruisers." As such they "cruised" large blocks of land with their chains and rods, estimating the diameters of the trees and the number of logs therein suitable for sawing. This survey work was used as a basis for planning the cutting operations of the future. In grazing country the men installed cattle guards and erected miles of fence. To develop further the recreational facilities of the forest, crews were detailed to build and maintain public campgrounds. Here they installed benches, tables, fireplaces, and all the usual conveniences. In some areas where insect infestation was proving more damaging than fire, groups of men were sent to cut and burn the infested trees as the only means of controlling the pest. The men also assisted in controlling the spread of tree diseases. This work was often directed against the "blister rust," and took the form of rooting out and destroying the gooseberry shrub which is the germinating ground of the deadly fungus. Throughout the forests

<sup>8</sup>"Tree Planting Ends," *The Columbian*, I, 9 (May 23, 1942), page 3.

<sup>9</sup>These figures were furnished by P. S. Newcomb, Forest Supervisor, Lower Michigan National Forests, upon request of the author. Letter of June 30, 1947.



there was a good deal of maintenance and construction work completed on the various buildings, ranging from minor repairs to major alterations. Old structures were moved, set on new foundations, repaired, reroofed, painted, and generally improved. Many were completely redesigned by the addition or shifting of partitions, doors, and windows. In some instances new buildings were constructed with assignee labor. Where needed, water and waste disposal systems were installed.

There were also many other tasks for the conscientious objector, a few of which were specialized assignments calling for trained and skilled men. The bulk of the work in the Forest Service camps, however, lay in the areas indicated above.

### *Side Camps*

The base of operations for the work assignments was not always in the main camp. It often came about, in the Forest Service units, that the work which needed to be done was located several miles distant. To meet this situation smaller outposts called side camps (sometimes referred to as spike or stub camps) were established at or near sites of need. Each was manned by a group numbering from two to thirty or more assignees, plus a Forest Service foreman. Sometimes permanent or semi-permanent buildings were available for these units; but it was not at all unusual for the accommodations to consist wholly of tents. Communication was maintained by the supply truck, which carried food, laundry, visitors, replacements, and mail, as well as the latest rumors and news, to these outposts.

Side camps were especially prevalent in the Pacific

coast area. There, during the season of high fire hazard, it was customary to scatter several such groups throughout the forest. In some instances, where duties other than fire fighting formed the basic work program, side camps were operated on a year-round basis.

### *National Park Service Camps*

The Brethren were responsible for the administration of two National Park Service camps, both of which were located in Virginia. Lyndhurst, the first, opened in May 1942 and continued until January 1944, at which time it was moved to a new site, Bedford. Camp Bedford was not closed until June 1946.

The main work of these camps centered around the improvement of portions of the Blue Ridge Parkway, an elongated strip of land stretching between the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Tennessee and the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, and designed primarily as a scenic highway. This project involved various duties, one of the most important of which, especially at Lyndhurst, was the grading and seeding of the roadbanks to prevent erosion and deterioration. A good description of this is found in the camp newspaper,

### *This Is Our Story.*

For the past several weeks work on the Parkway Project has consisted largely of establishing protective plant growth on roadbanks and narrow fields within the right-of-way.

This coat of grasses and clovers is calculated to prevent deterioration of banks and fields and loss of soil by erosion.

. . . lime, and fertilizer, and seed are spread. . . . After the seed has been raked in, straw or some similar material is strewn as a mulch. This is held on the steep banks by brush and poles. In

some cases provision is made to carry rain water from the road by ditches or wooden chutes.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the care of the roadbanks, time was spent in enhancing the great natural beauties of the parkway. Brush was cleared and, in some instances, trees were removed to open to better view the valleys below. The men constructed rail and stone fences, some of which were utilized to enclose pasture land.

The removal of dead timber from the parkway was a major activity, particularly at Bedford. Throughout the area along the highway many trees previously killed by blight were felled, cut into portable lengths, hauled away, and finally sold. Brush and trimmings from such operations were burned during safe periods when control of such fire was a relatively easy matter, thus eliminating a fire hazard during the dry season.

A typical day in this type of work is described in the following camp newspaper article, *Out on the Mountain*:

. . . thus the morning dawns on Joe Camper . . . . About the time he finishes gulping down his food, the morning watch begins—a few minutes of devotional reading to start the day off right.

The few minutes between breakfast and the work bells are spent in preparation for project.

The first work bell rings at 7:50 during the winter, and last minute items are hurriedly donned before the ringing of the last bell at 7:55. . . . By 8:00 a.m. the first crew truck has started out with the other two in close pursuit.

Joe sits in the rear of his crew truck with 28 others. Joe dozes while others talk, argue, sing, or sleep as they go along or perhaps his mind goes back to the week-end just past, or to the one just ahead.

Joe's crew unloads. Teams of three men work together, and there

<sup>10</sup>Bob Coolidge, "On The Parkway," *This Is Our Story*, 1, 5 (July 1943), page 6.

is quite a scramble for tools. Eventually each team acquires a cross-cut saw, one or two axes, a sledge hammer, and 2 or 3 wedges.

"Let's get that big tree up there . . . . Mr. Moomaw, is that tree too far back? O.K., gang, let's get it."

Joe cuts a five-foot measure stick while one of his teammates clears from around the tree.

"Which way we gonna fall it?"

"It leans up hill quite a bit—maybe we can throw it at an angle down this way. Let's try it."

A notch is cut in the direction which the tree is supposed to fall, and two men use the saw while the other watches for falling limbs and relieves one of the men occasionally. The dead chestnuts which they are cutting down were killed about 25 years ago by the blight; some of the trees are small . . . some of them measure as much as five feet in diameter at the base; some are still very solid . . . others are pretty rotten and soggy except for a shell of the outside. . . . The trees are sawed into five-foot lengths, split into convenient sizes, and stacked along the road where trucks can haul the wood off by cords to tannic acid extraction plants.

"Timber! C-R-A-S-H!!!"

With the tree down, Joe takes the measure stick and marks off the 5-foot cuts, and uses the axe to remove limbs. As soon as the first mark is made, the other two men begin work with the saw, so that a block will be ready for splitting as soon as possible. Joe finishes trimming the tree, then rolls the first block down to the Parkway . . . .

All morning long the sounds of saws, axes, and hammers are interrupted by the frequent fall of another tree . . . .

Right at 12:00, Mr. Moomaw yells, "Let's eat!" And he doesn't have to say it twice! Fellows flock into line from all directions; when all are present, grace is said. Each boy goes by the lunch box and gets a spoon, an aluminum plate and a cup, two sandwiches, a generous serving of beans or soup, crackers, milk, and dessert. Dinner is consumed while Joe sits on the ground, on a rock, or on a pile of cord wood.

"That's all there is," says Mr. Moomaw—the 30 minutes are over and Joe goes back to work.

The afternoon drags away; Joe either saws or splits wood until that tree is all on the pile. Then another tree is attacked and the process is begun again. As they saw and work together, Joe's team may talk or sing, or exchange remarks with a nearby team.

Sometimes, Joe spends most of the day thinking . . . he may go into some of the reasons for his being in CPS—for his opposition to war . . . he may do some deep thinking on future plans . . . or again, he may not think at all, depending upon how the work affects him that day. Occasionally there are beautiful views of the valley below or of distant peaks . . . this may stimulate a few thoughts in adoration of The Maker.

Four o'clock comes, and eventually 4:30 drags along with [the] call, "Let's go!" Tools are checked in, and the crew climbs into the truck with weary legs and tired muscles from the day's work.

At five, Joe descends from the truck in camp and rushes to his cabin for mail—that letter from home or from her. . . . Supper is followed by a short visit to the Co-op, and then Joe probably has one or two classes to be met, letters to write, a book to read, or shop work to do. The evening is gone only too soon, and Joe may be in bed by 10:30 . . . .<sup>11</sup>

As in the Forest Service camps, fire fighting and its many related activities were very important. The men were instructed in the techniques of fire suppression, divided into crews and, during marked dry seasons when the hazard was high, were held in readiness to assist in the event of need. Fire lookout towers were maintained, and equipment kept in repair. Roads and trails were built and many of the same routines followed as in Forest Service camps.

### *Soil Conservation Camps*

There were two soil conservation base camps under Brethren administration: that at Lagro, Indiana, and

<sup>11</sup>"Out On The Mountain," *This Is Our Story*, III, 3 (April 1944), page 10 ff.

that at Magnolia, Arkansas.<sup>12</sup> Lagro, the first Brethren unit to receive campers, was opened in May 1941 and closed in November 1944. Magnolia opened in June 1941 and closed in November 1944.

At Lagro the work project was twofold: the major efforts of the men were centered around soil conservation; but considerable time was spent developing the Salamonie River and Francis Slocum state forests.

In general, the soil conservation work was carried out on the near-by farms whose owners were co-operating with the government program. These farmers supplied the materials necessary for the job, and agreed to undertake certain recommended conservation measures. In return the government provided supervision by technically trained men and the labor of the campers. The assignments included a variety of tasks. Among the most important were: fence construction, gully-control work, including sloping, seeding, and sodding of banks; terracing; ditching and tiling; construction of stock watering troughs; spring development; timber-stand improvement; and tree planting.

The assignments in the state forest included: maintenance of picnic areas; maintenance of roads and trails; painting and creosoting of buildings; tree planting; timber-stand improvement; and some minor forest chores.

At Magnolia, Arkansas, the project was almost entirely soil conservation. The daily round of assignments here included: terracing, channel construction and sodding, meadow clearing, stock-pond construction, spring development, fence building, road construction and im-

<sup>12</sup>It should be noted that there were two units in Maryland whose work was soil conservation. Since they did not have the characteristic features of a base camp, however, they are not discussed here. See Chapter 7.

provement, sodding of gullies, tree planting, contour cultivation, controlled grazing, cover-crop planting, land clearing and grubbing, and a few additional related tasks.

Some insight is given into what actually made up a day on project in a soil conservation unit by the following excerpt from the journal of a camper:

"There goes the work bell! So long, Ed. Have enough clothes on, it's cold when you are out all day?"

"Well, how does this sound, Harry? I've two pair of pants, a wool shirt, a sweater, and a jacket. Yes, and two pairs of socks too. See you tonight, Doc." And I was off to the truck.

The trucks were lined up outside the garage with the foreman of each crew at the tail-board. You checked which crew you were on, sometime before the bell rang, at the work sheet posted in the dining hall.

There were twelve in our crew, and almost a complete silence as we rode off from camp. It's difficult to feel cheerful about a day's work which has no remuneration, and is not of one's own choosing. Then, too, the dust curling in from the back of the truck prohibits any conversation that isn't gritty.

Arriving at the Turner farm Bill made assignments. Some to clear brush, others to grub stumps, and Woody and I were assigned to a large gum tree. It was about two and a half feet in diameter and we were to dig it out. We took shovels and picks and began . . . . You dig around the tree, chop off large roots under the soil as you go down, and eventually the weight of the top unbalances the root and it falls, bringing the stump out too.

We worked steadily and by noon our "moat," as I called it, was about five feet deep, but the tree was not showing any inclination to lie down.

The truck driver stopped working about ten minutes before the rest of us, and he had the water keg open, the stew and sandwiches spread out and our metal dishes and spoons too. He had also built a small fire, and some of us toasted our sandwiches.

There wasn't much conversation as we ate. One by one as they



finished eating, each man found some favored spot where he could lie down and rest for a few minutes.

When the horn sounded we went back to our tree. About two-thirty we were both grubbing at the roots when Woody noticed the tree was slowly leaning [in] his direction. With a shout he scrambled out and I followed him. Gradually the tree leaned, then with a sudden rending of the remaining roots it crashed to the ground.

Bill and Francis now joined us . . . [bringing] with them a large saw. While Woody and I whacked the smaller limbs off with axes they started to saw the trunk. By 4:30 the tree was finished . . . .

Then it was time to leave. We loaded the tools on the truck, parked our weary frames on the benches and the trip back began. This time there was more animation. There was some joking, a little conversation and looks of anticipation on the majority of the faces. The day's work was done, the required stipend met, and now each would have a few hours to use as he wanted.

As the truck rolled into the garage those on the tail-board leaped to the road and streaked toward the post office. The possibility of letters was part of the cause for the smiles of anticipation on the trip home.

Supper in half an hour made a grand rush on the showers. I ran to my bunk, unbuttoning the outer layers as I ran. Down to the last pair of pants and shoes, I grabbed a towel and soap, joined the crowd in the shower room. The coming and going ones were hopelessly mixed. A scramble of hot, tired, sweating bodies and clean, fresh, slightly damp ones. . . . the bell rang while I was tying my shoes.

Grace, good food, the latest news from Floyd and I'm in the office by six signing liberty slips.

. . . [a] meeting . . . a class in Psychology . . . a half hour in the library reading my letters and the newspapers.

It was dark in the cabins now, the lights were put out at ten. I felt my way cautiously and quietly to the spot between the stove and the sweet potatoes where my clothes go into the locker and my body into the bed.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Edgar H. Grater, C.O., an unpublished journal of one of the Magnolia campers, page 28 ff.



In both these camps, the men were called upon for fire-fighting duties, but not in as large a degree as in the Forest Service or Park Service units. Moreover, the fire fighting was on a much smaller scale in such projects than in the Forest Service camps in the West.

### *Emergency Farm Labor and Issues of Conscience*

In addition to the duties outlined above, the men of the base camps were assigned, as part of their project work, to emergency farm labor. This was a program worked out through the co-operation of the Department of Agriculture, the United States Employment Service, and Selective Service, whereby in the seasons of critical need for farm help the men of the base camps were released from their regular duties by the project superintendent to work on the near-by farms. The farmer paid for this help the prevailing wage of the region, which was then forwarded to the United States treasury and impounded there to await disposition by Congress. Through this plan a great many days of labor went to assist the farmers of the nation, and much food was saved from spoiling. At times of pressing need all available men in any one unit might be found so engaged.

This plan, however, raised serious problems for many conscientious objectors. They felt there was no assurance whatsoever that the wages earned would not be used to purchase materials of war, or that the harvests of the field would not be converted to serve military ends. For many of them such a use of the product of their labor was as much a matter of conscientious concern as was service within the armed forces. A fair summary of the situation can be found in a memorandum written in 1943:

The solution is not simple because various values are involved. As pacifists we certainly are in favor of producing food and saving it from spoiling; and then, too, many of our assignees are farmers and are interested in farm work. . . . many farmers are facing emergency situations. We believe in giving a helping hand.

On the other hand, certain aspects of this problem disturb us. It is said that Selective Service should meet the situation by deferring or reclassifying sufficient men to take care of farm needs. Many feel bad because the wages of the men are turned over to the public treasury which, though frozen for the duration, might eventually be used for war purposes. Also in some instances the food harvested is used directly or indirectly for military purposes.<sup>14</sup>

In addition there were brought to the fore other aspects of this dilemma such as replacing drafted farmers and thereby making them available for the military services, working for private instead of public employers, receiving no pay although the money was earned, the resemblance of such a system to the forced labor battalions of the totalitarian nations, and the compulsive feature of the order establishing the farm labor work.

In the face of all these doubts many of the men came to feel they could not conscientiously participate in this work and so felt obliged to refuse such assignments and ask for alternatives.

The Brethren Service Committee took the position that the conscientious beliefs of the men should be respected and that refusals to work based on conscience should not be penalized. To achieve this end the men were assigned to other jobs in the camp or were transferred to other Brethren units not likely to become engaged in the farm work. Selective Service, although un-

<sup>14</sup>W. Harold Row, Brethren Camp Directors Memorandum No. 209, July 3, 1943.

willing to withdraw the official directive which made such work mandatory when requested by the farmers through the prescribed channels, was willing for the problem to be worked out locally on a voluntary basis when possible, or to transfer the men to other Brethren units.<sup>15</sup> In 1945 the service committee expressed itself on this issue:

[BSC] is deeply concerned that the consciences of C.P.S. men be respected in all assignments, including those of emergency farm labor. It cannot agree to "Absent without Leave" or "Refuse to Work" records nor to involuntary transfer or disqualification for desired transfer, nor the imposition of penalties or the denial of privileges for conscientious refusal to do such work. Also, it is opposed to the establishment of new projects involving emergency farm labor.<sup>16</sup>

Until the close of this program the dilemma was not solved to the satisfaction of all concerned.

It was not alone in emergency farm labor that issues of conscience were raised. It sometimes came about that in the course of their daily assignments the men were detailed to work projects which seemed to them to be quite closely related to the military effort. Among such assignments were the collection of scrap paper, metal and rubber, the building of access roads to timber needed for war industries, the cutting of wood eventually used by chemical industries, the construction of roads used by the army, activities related to the maintenance of aircraft warning towers, and other similar work. In such instances, as in the farm program, the concerned assignees felt obliged to refuse such projects and to request other assignments. Situations of this type precipitated very serious crises, and, at times, threatened to

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>Official Minutes of the Brethren Service Committee, May 1945, page 97.

cause a complete breakdown of the CPS program. To the campers, and to the Brethren Service Committee, the problem was extremely critical, for the fundamental issue of individual conscience seemed at stake. To the government officials—Selective Service and the technical agency—the problem was equally serious, for they felt that the program of approved work should be carried through, and that they were within the law in their demands.

One of the major difficulties in these crises was that varying opinions were held as to what constituted war work. Practically all the concerned parties differed on this point, and assignments that seemed reasonable to some seemed unreasonable to others. Even among the assignees, viewpoints differed, and some men felt able to accept assignments that others felt conscientiously bound to reject. The law providing the alternative service contained only the phrase “work of national importance under civilian direction.”

A second difficulty centered around the problem as to what constituted a recognition of conscience. Some felt that if the men were provided with alternative tasks, the issue was solved. Others felt that in addition to this step, a full recognition of conscience implied that the individual's opportunities and privileges within camp, or for transfer to other desired projects, would not be diminished because of his conscientious objection.

In the first months of the program, the brunt of the encounters with the government officials was borne by the assignees, with the assistance given by local camp directors varying from unit to unit. By 1942, however, the national Brethren administration was following a

policy of intervention with the government on such matters. Perhaps the most crucial issue of this type in the program arose at Cascade Locks in that year. There the Forest Service was undertaking to open to production a new area of the forest in what was apparently an effort to supply critical materials to the war industries of the Pacific Northwest. Assignments to this project were protested by the men and the issue was brought before the Brethren Service Committee. Several critical conferences were held between church and state officials, with the Brethren administrators taking the position that "no man under any circumstances is to be forced to accept a work assignment in violation of his conscience."<sup>17</sup> This stiffened attitude was further evidenced by the apparent viewpoint of the Brethren officials, that, if necessary, they would withdraw from the administration of the CPS program over this issue. As a result, the Forest Service abandoned the idea of using CPS men on this project.

In the years following, other issues involving war-related work arose, with the men and the Brethren administration resisting the pressures to accept such assignments. While, in the face of such protests, other assignments were usually provided, there remained a tendency on the part of the government officials to restrict the privileges of the objectors in various ways, including the denial of desired transfers, and in a few instances, the forced transfer of such men to government units.

A second example of a project involving war-related work may be cited from the history of Kane. At that camp, the assignments included the cutting of many

<sup>17</sup>Letter of an Elgin staff member to A. J. Muste, June 18, 1943, explaining the position of the service committee in this regard.

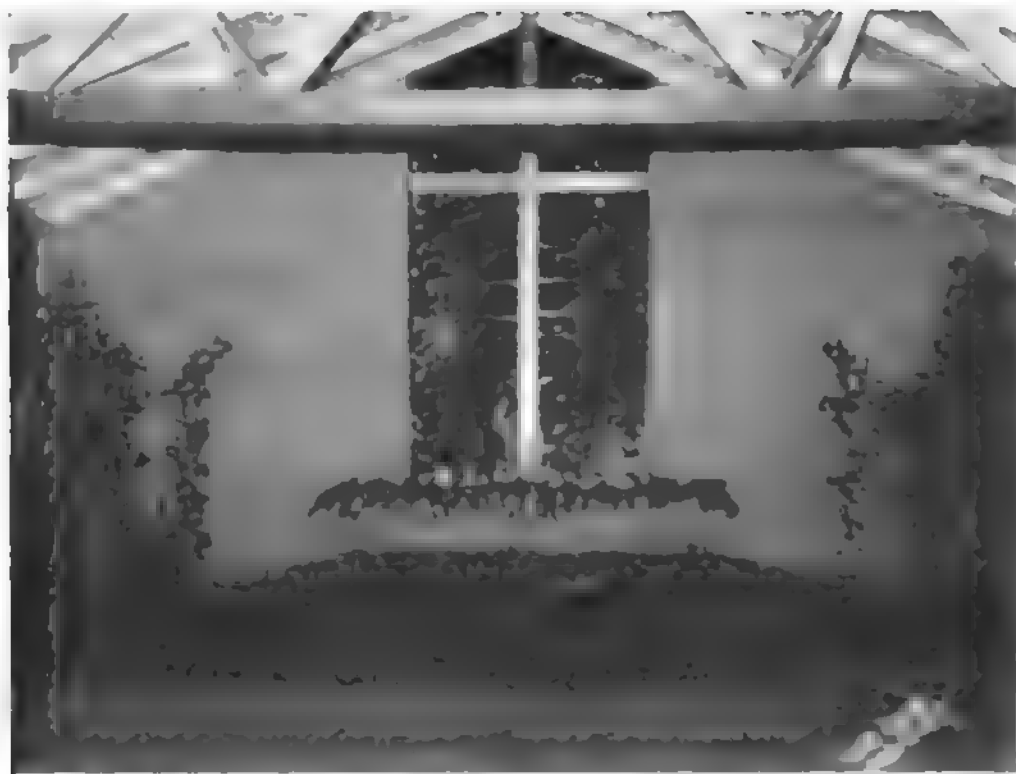




**Base-camp Sites.** Above: Lagro, Indiana, fairly typical in its arrangement and buildings

Below: Cascade Locks, Oregon, in the scenic Columbia River gorge. Western camps had especially beautiful surroundings





## Religious Life

Cascade Locks, Oregon, chapel ready for a wedding

## Dormitory devotions



Walhalla, Michigan chapel



**Eating and Sleeping.** These scenes could have been duplicated at practically any base camp, but dormitories were rarely as roomy as the picture below suggests





## The Work

All aboard for the  
project



Sighting a fire from  
a lookout tower

Tree planting, Mag-  
nolia, Arkansas



trees in the more densely wooded areas in order that the remaining timber stand might be improved through this thinning operation. But, since it was impractical to let such wood remain in the forest where it constituted a fire hazard, and since there were companies eager to purchase this vital raw material, much of it was sold to these firms, where it came to be used in the production of items directly related to the war effort. Although the sale of the wood was later restricted to one of the firms not directly engaged in producing items of war, dissatisfaction still remained. Transfer to other Brethren units or assignment to different tasks within the camp seemed the only possibilities to relieve the situation. Two of the men refusing such work were transferred to a government camp by Selective Service although the transfer order was protested by the men and the service committee.

In considering the history of the several projects involving objection to war-related work, some points may be noted. Those men for whom the assignments were an issue of conscience seemed willing to stand by their beliefs in disregard of personal consequences. The Brethren administration early moved to the support of such individuals. The government agencies generally provided alternative assignments in the face of the protests, and thus, in effect, recognized conscience, but, at the same time, they tended to place restrictions on such men in various ways, thus limiting the recognition.

### *Other Concerns*

In addition to the problems indicated above, there arose within the work program another dilemma of im-

portance. This question centered around the nature of the work being approved for the base camps. As has been indicated, this work was largely of an unskilled or semi-skilled nature and was concerned primarily with the conservation of the great natural resources of the nation. Within a short time following the establishment of the camps a number of men came to criticize such work. They voiced their concern from several standpoints. The chief criticism, perhaps, was that although such work was important, other work of still greater significance to the welfare of the nation was being left undone. They pointed out great areas of need lying in the realm of the conservation of human resources, and indicated their desire to serve directly the more immediate needs of human beings in such fields as hospitals, public health, slum clearance, juvenile delinquency, work with underprivileged groups, and similar projects. Approval for such assignments was sought by the conscientious objectors and the Brethren Service Committee through the National Service Board, and by March 1942 the combined efforts secured some results. At that time Selective Service approved the establishment of a special public health project in the State of Florida (Crestview). In the months and years following, special projects were continually sought, and although many proposals were disapproved, several were accepted. In almost every instance one of the goals sought in the establishment of special projects was work of more direct and immediate benefit to human beings.

A second concern voiced by those associated in the work program of the base camps centered around the lack of opportunity for using the special skills and train-

ing of the assignees.<sup>18</sup> Many of the drafted men possessed a proficiency acquired only after years of study and practical experience. To a number of this group it seemed a waste of talents to work in an unskilled capacity when their skilled services seemed so vitally needed in a nation short of labor. The development of special projects provided a partial answer to the difficulty, yet even this program was limited in the number of positions requiring the particular qualifications possessed by individual conscientious objectors. Individual assignments, a proposal offered in answer to the problem, were not favored by Selective Service, for they felt the difficulties of administering such a program and maintaining control over the assignees would offset the advantages to be gained. Selective Service also felt doubtful that public opinion would support a plan of individual assignments. Effective utilization of assignee skills was one of the unsolved problems of Civilian Public Service.

**Table 7**  
**Work Accomplishment Record**  
**Base Camps**

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Unit of Measure</i>	<i>Amount of Work</i>	<i>Man Days Used</i>
Truck trails .....	Miles	3,828	76,443
Forest stand improvement .....	Acres	13,706	73,804
Fire presuppression .....	Man days	51,247	51,247
Tree planting .....	Acres	13,172	36,978
Camp repair, buildings .....	Man days	32,547	32,547
Nursery .....	Man days	26,407	26,407
Buildings, miscellaneous .....	Number	432	25,619
Emergency farm labor .....	Man days	24,740	24,740

<sup>18</sup>See chapter 2.

Equipment repair .....	Man days	21,936	21,936
Fighting forest fires .....	Man days	21,063	21,063
General cleanup .....	Acres	1,243	17,963
Fire hazard reduction .....	Acres	2,663	15,740
Fence .....	Man days	15,210	15,210
Timber estimating .....	Acres	98,784	14,948
Foot trails .....	Miles	1,693	14,179
Telephone lines .....	Miles	2,288	13,557
Surveys .....	Man days	11,663	11,663
Camp ground cleanup .....	Acres	736	11,586
Bank sloping .....	Man days	10,991	10,991
Seed sodding .....	Man days	10,911	10,911
Ditch cleaning .....	Square yards	1,009,984	9,071
Dwellings .....	Man days	8,076	8,076
Preparing transportation .....	Man days	7,395	7,395
Stock trails .....	Miles	278	7,300
Signs .....	Number	8,632	6,369
Water supply systems .....	Number	45	4,833
Reservoirs .....	Number	46	4,166
Channel construction .....	Man days	4,003	4,003
Razing undesirable structures ..	Man days	3,839	3,839
Marking boundary .....	Miles	791	3,730
Vehicle bridges .....	Number	153	3,707
Landscaping .....	Man days	3,397	3,397
Soil preparation .....	Acres	487	3,160
Buildings .....	Number	10	2,403
Emergency .....	Man days	2,230	2,230
Fire hazard reduction roads ...	Miles	34	2,169
Tree insect control .....	Acres	14,497	1,969
Lookout towers .....	Number	31	1,956
Equipment buildings .....	Number	17	1,955
Springs developed .....	Number	41	1,792
Warehousing .....	Man days	1,791	1,791
Wildlife work .....	Man days	1,757	1,757
Pest control .....	Acres	8,816	1,702
Sewage disposal .....	Number	18	1,692
Fire breaks .....	Miles	98	1,622

## *Base Camps: Projects and Organization*      101

Cabins .....	Man days	1,433	1,433
Seed collection .....	Bushels	1,899	1,308
Foot bridges .....	Number	16	1,204
Channels .....	Cubic yards	2,746	1,187
Clearing .....	Acres	20	1,055
Power lines .....	Man days	930	930
Fire prevention .....	Man days	921	921
Experimental plots .....	Man days	850	850
Terracing .....	Miles	57	729
Maps-models .....	Man days	605	605
Lookout tower houses .....	Number	6	515
Limestone hauled .....	Tons	411	499
Outlet structures .....	Number	563	497
Insect pest control .....	Acres	2,988	484
Eradicating exotic plants .....	Acres	329	465
Garages .....	Number	7	375
Pasture sodding .....	Acres	79	267
Range revegetation .....	Acres	127	225
Diversion ditches .....	Lineal feet	6,650	178
Seed collection .....	Pounds	1,676	170
Pipe lines .....	Lineal feet	1,055	158
Latrines .....	Number	7	143
Stream bank protection .....	Square yards	2,500	142
Rodent control .....	Man days	141	141
Road erosion control .....	Miles	.2	134
Cattle guards .....	Number	3	119
Parking area .....	Square yards	1,150	78
Water control structures .....	Number	2	75
Contour furrows .....	Miles	3	70
Temporary dams .....	Number	75	65
Concrete walks .....	Lineal feet	296	62
Rip rap rock .....	Square yards	14	62
Cribbing-filling .....	Cubic yards	241	60
Dams .....	Number	1	49
Gully tree planting .....	Square yards	54,600	32
Wells .....	Number	2	22
Tree moving-planting .....	Man days	18	18

Permanent dams .....	Number	4	18
Tables-benches .....	Number	32	17
Levees .....	Man days	14	14
Other work .....	Man days	8,277	8,277
Total man days .....			<u>643,269</u>

Table seven is compiled from Selective Service Form DSS52, a quarterly work accomplishment report submitted by the using agencies. The figures are for the "field work" only, and do not include the camp overhead (cooks, laundrymen, CPS clerks, barber, educational secretary, etc.), nor do they include sick quarters, furlough, transfer travel time, etc. Totals are for both new work and maintenance.

### THE CAMP ORGANIZATION

For the most part the housing facilities of the base camps were old, abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps structures in various stages of disrepair. Sleeping quarters were provided in long wooden buildings, approximately twenty by one hundred feet, capable of accommodating forty or more men. Each occupant had space for a single iron cot, a clothes wardrobe, and a small writing shelf. Although custom varied from camp to camp, and even within any one camp, the usual practice was for the entire building to have no partitions, thus making of it one huge sleeping room. In each camp there were four or five such barracks.

The other buildings were of the same general nature as these quarters—long, wooden, bare of any beauty—only with appropriate partitions to separate the various sections, perhaps into a barber shop, a library, a social room, a chapel, a craft shop, or a small camp store. The warehouses, the garages, the camp offices, the bathhouse, the kitchen and dining room, and the quarters for the camp

director and the project superintendent usually completed the available facilities. Although the buildings lacked grace of line, they were often situated in surroundings of great natural beauty, especially in the camp sites of the far West.

### *A Dual Administration*

Within the base camp organization there was a divided responsibility for the program. The camp director, representing the Brethren Service Committee as the "administrative" or "sponsoring" agency, was responsible for the total operation of the camp, excepting the work project.<sup>19</sup> This latter was under the direction of the project superintendent, representing the co-operating technical agency, either the Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, or National Park Service. He was an experienced and trained man in the line of work being carried on, and was usually assisted by several foremen who, like him, were paid employees of the technical agency.

Each morning the available men were turned over to the project superintendent for the day's work. He then assigned them to the various tasks at hand, sometimes under the direction of a foreman, but often with only a few verbal instructions. At the end of the work day the men were returned to the jurisdiction of the camp director. In actual practice the process was very informal, the men simply appearing in the morning at a designated place to hear their assignments for the day, and, upon return to camp or at quitting time, dispersing to the

<sup>19</sup>"Total operation" included responsibility for meeting the expenses of food, laundry, office supplies, clothing (where needed), educational, religious, and recreational programs, and many other items. Chapter 14 describes these matters in detail.





## TYPICAL WORK ASSIGNMENTS AT

## STAFF

Sollenberger—Asst. Dir.  
Maiden—Ed. Director  
Sargent—Recreational  
Johnson—Infirmarian  
Myers, D.—Business Mgr.

## KITCHEN

Klaus Brown, M.  
Herbst Mason  
Plocher Jarboe  
Ganger Hamm  
Root

## LAUNDRY

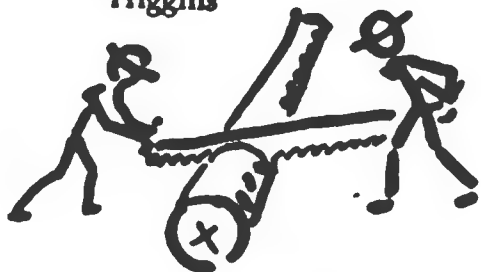
Myers, M.  
Schmucker  
Snyder  
Seps

## FOREST SERVICE OVERHEAD

Adams—Watchman  
Meisinger—Tool house  
Conner—Camp Mtce.  
Hamer  
Lehman—Radio Mtce.

## CLERKS

Al Miller  
Stafford  
Higgins

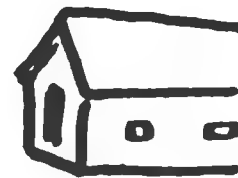
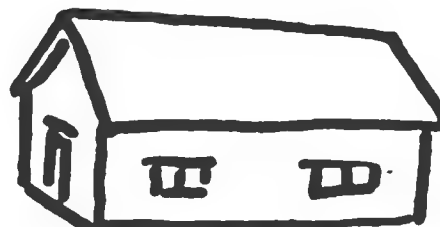


## WOOD CREW

Stockdale Clark  
Myers, W. Summers  
Markley Barnard  
Nelson Wesner  
Kester Force  
Hood Berg  
Hale Fee  
Rossiter

## RANGER STATION

Weybright Bernhart  
Green. Elmore



## WAREHOUSE

Guengerich Downing  
Ward, J. Westwick  
Keith, F. Whitmer  
McCoy Sharp

## ALAMAR TRAIL MTCE.

Herrera, R. Crist  
Welch Balster  
Kobzeff Ziegler

## FIGUEROA ROAD

Garman Wik  
Bannister Kinzie

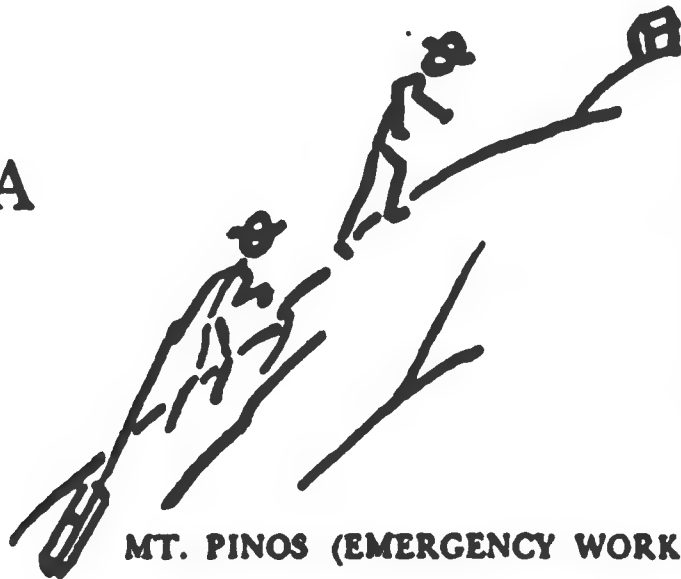
## CONDITIONING

Daniel, G.

## FURLOUGH

Shellabarger  
Brumbaugh  
Winters  
Bowers  
Santos  
Diller

# CAMP SANTA BARBARA



MT. PINOS (EMERGENCY WORK)

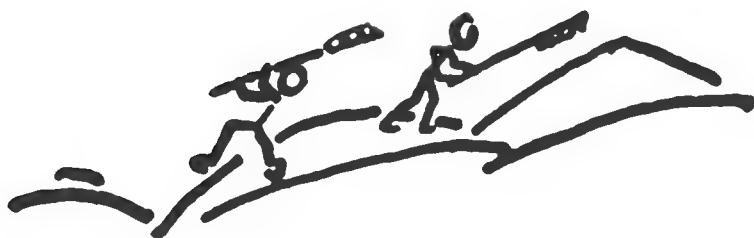
## ADDITIONAL C.P.S. OVERHEAD

Myers, R.	Miller, M.	Minnich
Carlyle	Dubois	Burritt
Short	Nora	Good

## OTHERS

Heckman—Secretary  
Schubert—Inventory  
Custer—Farmer

Summers, R.	Thomas
Ward, W.	Chambers



## BUCKHORN TRAIL MTCE.

Williams	Pritchard
Woodard	Cline
	Bye

## COAST RIDGE CREW (RINCON TRAIL)

Hosking	McKinney
Stuart	Menke
	Nunn

## GRIDLEY TRAIL MTCE.

Daniel, L.	Ikenberry
Sides	Lewis
	George

## OJAI DISTRICT TRAIL

Bollinger	Noffsinger
	Geyer

## SESAK CANYON TRAIL

Hoffman	Shively
Cottrell	Briggs
	Weldy

## PINE CANYON RD. MTCE.

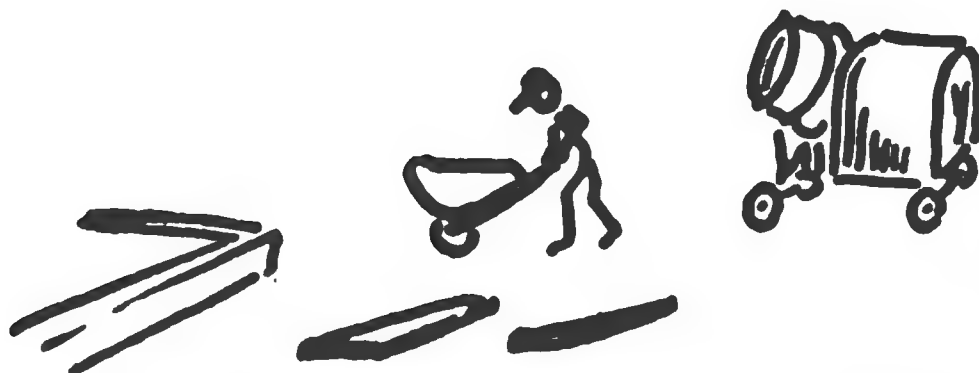
Tremblay	Herrera, E.
Bockman	Mallott
	Robutka

## PINE CANYON DWELLING CONST.

Brown, H.	Anderson
-----------	----------

S. Q.

Morrison  
Faulconer  
Walters  
Keith, G.  
Fishback



bunkhouses, showers, mailbox, or wherever their fancy might direct them within the bounds of the camp.

At the side camps a similar plan was followed, the director and the project superintendent being represented by designated responsible persons.

Although authority within the camp was thus divided, the power of discipline was vested at all times in the office of the camp director, even for the work hours. The project superintendent could not take direct action but rather had to report his concerns to the director, and in the event of dissatisfaction with the steps taken, had recourse to an appeal to Selective Service.

### *Director and Staff*

The camp director, as has been said, was responsible for the total routine of camp other than the work project. In actual practice he found it necessary to delegate some of his responsibilities to his staff. Usually the staff consisted of assistant director, business manager, kitchen manager, infirmary attendant, educational secretary, religious-life secretary, and personnel secretary. In the first months of the program the business manager and the kitchen manager (often the director's wife), as well as the director, were chosen from outside the ranks of the drafted campers. Within a relatively short time, however, it became the accepted practice to draw all the staff members from among the assignees, and by late 1943 it was not uncommon for the directors to be chosen from the same source.

The duties of the director were quite varied. His was the responsibility for co-ordinating all the various phases of the camp into a harmonious working unit—of trying

to provide for all the different elements of camp life in a way which did violence to neither the individual groups nor to the larger camp society. The official relationships and contacts with the technical agency were usually established by him. In matters of public relations he often served as the interpreter of the camp to the near-by communities, meeting with public officials, service clubs, churches, and similar groups. He likewise was often the interpreter of the camps to the near-by Brethren churches and the district. In some instances, he served as a counselor to the men, and was one of the leading influences in developing the religious-life program of the unit.

Those men who served as directors in the Brethren camps were: Lewis Beckford (Bedford), Lloyd C. Blickenstaff (Copemish, Manistee, Wellston), Paul Bowman, Jr. (Lagro), S. Loren Bowman (Marienville), Robert Case (Cascade Locks), Harold Cessna (Waldport), D. K. Christenberry (Belden), William Cline (Wellston), Enoch Crumpton (Waldport), Charles Davis (Cascade Locks), Clyde Forney (Lagro), Earl Garver (Bedford, Lyndhurst, Wellston), D. C. Gnagy (Santa Barbara, Belden), Samuel Harley (Lyndhurst), Graham Hodges (Wellston), Q. A. Holsopple (Kane), Ora Huston (Magnolia), C. E. Kimmel (Waldport), Mark King (Marienville), Ercell Lynn (Marienville), J. H. Mathis (Magnolia, Lagro), Omer Maphis (Walhalla), Richard Mills (Waldport), Vernon Nichols (Kane), Eugene Palsgrove (Wellston), Mark Schrock (Cascade Locks), Wesley Smith (Cascade Locks), Robert Sollenberger (Bedford), Galen Stinebaugh (Lagro), Carl Throop (Magnolia), William Tittle (Wellston), O. P. Williams (Belden), Milo Yoder (Walhalla), and Levi Ziegler (Kane).

The duties of the various staff members were much the same in all the base camps. Thus the assistant director relieved the director of many routine administrative duties, and in the absence of the latter assumed his office. The business manager kept the financial records, received and disbursed the funds, and often arranged for the purchase of needed materials. The kitchen manager prepared the menus, was responsible for the ordering and care of the food, and supervised the kitchen. The infirmary attendant rendered first aid and minor nursing services, arranged for medical and dental treatment, maintained the records of the ill and injured, and was in charge of the camp infirmary. The personnel secretary acted as a counselor to the men, kept their records, administered tests, and arranged for furloughs, transfers, and discharges. The secretary of education, often under the guidance of a camp committee, arranged for classes in various subjects, visiting speakers, forums, institutes, panels, informal discussions, and other related activities. The religious-life secretary, likewise often assisted by a camp committee, was responsible for such functions as the Sunday worship services, the morning devotions, the scheduling of visiting pastors, Bible study, and other developments of a similar nature.

### *The Overhead*

Since the staff members were assignees and their duties were such as to require full-time service, each camp was allotted a specific quota of men who could be retained from assignment to project work. This quota, known as the "overhead," varied in proportion to the number of men in camp, reaching, for example, twenty-three in

a unit of one hundred twenty-five and twenty-seven in a unit of one hundred seventy-five.<sup>20</sup> In addition to the staff members noted above, the overhead usually carried the cooks, dishwashers, bakers, barber, librarian, laundry workers, office secretaries, and farmer.<sup>21</sup>

The larger housekeeping duties, such as the hauling of wood, garbage disposal, bathhouse maintenance, scrubbing of buildings, care of such livestock as was on the premises, maintenance of the equipment, and innumerable other services, were assigned to the "special detail,"<sup>22</sup> a quota in addition to the overhead, released from the project for these tasks.

### *Camper Organization*

Within the camp organization the assignees attained to some share in forming policy and determining the direction and emphases of the unit program. This was especially true of those aspects of camp life which the original understanding between Selective Service and the National Service Board had left under the supervision of the church. Included here were such activities as education, recreation, religious life, and other leisure-time enterprises, and such relationships as developed among the campers, one with another, and between the director and the campers as a body. This sharing in the government of the camp developed as a mutual understanding between the director and the men. The formal organiza-

<sup>20</sup>*Selective Service Administrative Directive No. 4*, Jan. 15, 1943, page 1.

<sup>21</sup>Although not located within the camp boundaries, the camp farm was an integral part of the unit. In most instances it was rented from nearby land owners, and worked by one or two assignees carried, as indicated, on the overhead quota. In this way much food was raised at a considerable saving over market cost.

<sup>22</sup>Also known as the *Saturday Turnback*.

tion through which the men expressed themselves and decided those issues before them was the camp meeting. This was a simple assembly of all the campers, whose decision was taken as the highest expression of their will. To carry out such decisions there was usually an executive group or council, appointed by and responsible to the camp meeting. In addition to the council, a series of committees, as a recreation committee, a religious life committee, a work committee, and others, was appointed to care for specific concerns.

Though the camp meeting was an important factor in providing the assignees with a share in the government of the camp, it was not the only significant channel through which they were able to express their will. In many units the practice of filling some staff positions through a camp election developed early in the program. As the months and years passed the practice became more widespread until, in the latter days, most of the staff offices were so filled. Meanwhile the mode of selecting the director had become increasingly democratic. In the first years the directors were appointed by the service committee. By the beginning of 1944, however, this method of direct appointment was being abandoned in favor of appointment through the "conference method." This was a plan designed to give a voice to all concerned parties.<sup>23</sup>

Further, the fact that the staff (and often even the director) were themselves assignees provided for an additional injection of the assignee viewpoint into the camp government. Sharing as they did the same pattern of life as the rest of the camper body, excepting in work

<sup>23</sup>See page 412.

assignment, they could not fail to bring to their decisions all the subtle influences that were common to them and their fellows by virtue of their conscientious objector position.

It is important to note, however, that although in many ways the campers had a large voice in determining the course of camp life, in two very significant areas they had no direct control. These were: (1) in the official relationships established between the technical agency and the camp; (2) in the official relationships established between Selective Service and the camp.

In addition to the activities directly related to the work projects were the many other aspects of camp life. It is with these developments that the following chapter is concerned.



## CHAPTER 4

### Base Camps: Camp Life

Beyond the work-project duties to which the men of the base camps were assigned lay another program of activities aimed to make more meaningful and vital the off-duty hours of the campers. Work under the supervision of the Forest Service or other agencies accounted for approximately one third of the day's routine, leaving to the assignees some six or eight hours to spend in other pursuits. To many of the participants and leaders of the CPS venture these leisure-time hours appeared as a unique opportunity for achieving progress in the promotion of the way of peace. They envisioned the period of camp life as a time during which conscientious objectors could, through a program of study and community living, grow individually and as a group toward a realization of the major goals of pacifism. To them camp presented an opportunity to "prepare a large number of young men for creative leadership in building brotherhood and international goodwill," to "prepare for service of reconstruction," to "develop future leadership for the church," and in other ways to become trained for living and serving in the kind of world which was emerging. Basically the realization of these goals was sought through the development of a camp community exemplifying ideals of "cooperative, non-violent, and serviceable com-

munity living." It was thought that within such a community emphasis upon educational and religious developments, especially, would lead to the goals sought.

That the program undertaken achieved only a partial success is easily discovered. At no point did the camps reach the high levels of attainment hoped for by the participants in the movement. Militating against the growth in camp of an ideal community were a number of factors not to be lightly put aside. Yet there was much excellent growth. It is to this story of camp life and the successes and failures found there that this chapter is devoted.

By way of explanation it should be noted that the descriptive materials refer primarily to the main base camps rather than to their small offshoots known as "side camps." However, the over-all objectives of the leisure-time program were much the same for both groups; and thus many base-camp activities and developments were duplicated in the smaller units. Side camps, though, as compared to the main body, were usually more limited in both facilities and interests, and so did not present the variety of activities found in the latter group. The main camp did endeavor to share with the side camps such resources as were portable, including books, films, recreation equipment, visiting speakers, and members of the camp staff; but it seemed rather natural to concentrate the principal developments of the leisure-time program at the main base. Perhaps the chief difference between the main camp and the side camp lay in the fact that a stronger sense of group solidarity was present in the latter-type unit. In part, this strength of community spirit can be attributed to the fact that side camps were often made up of a group of volunteers with

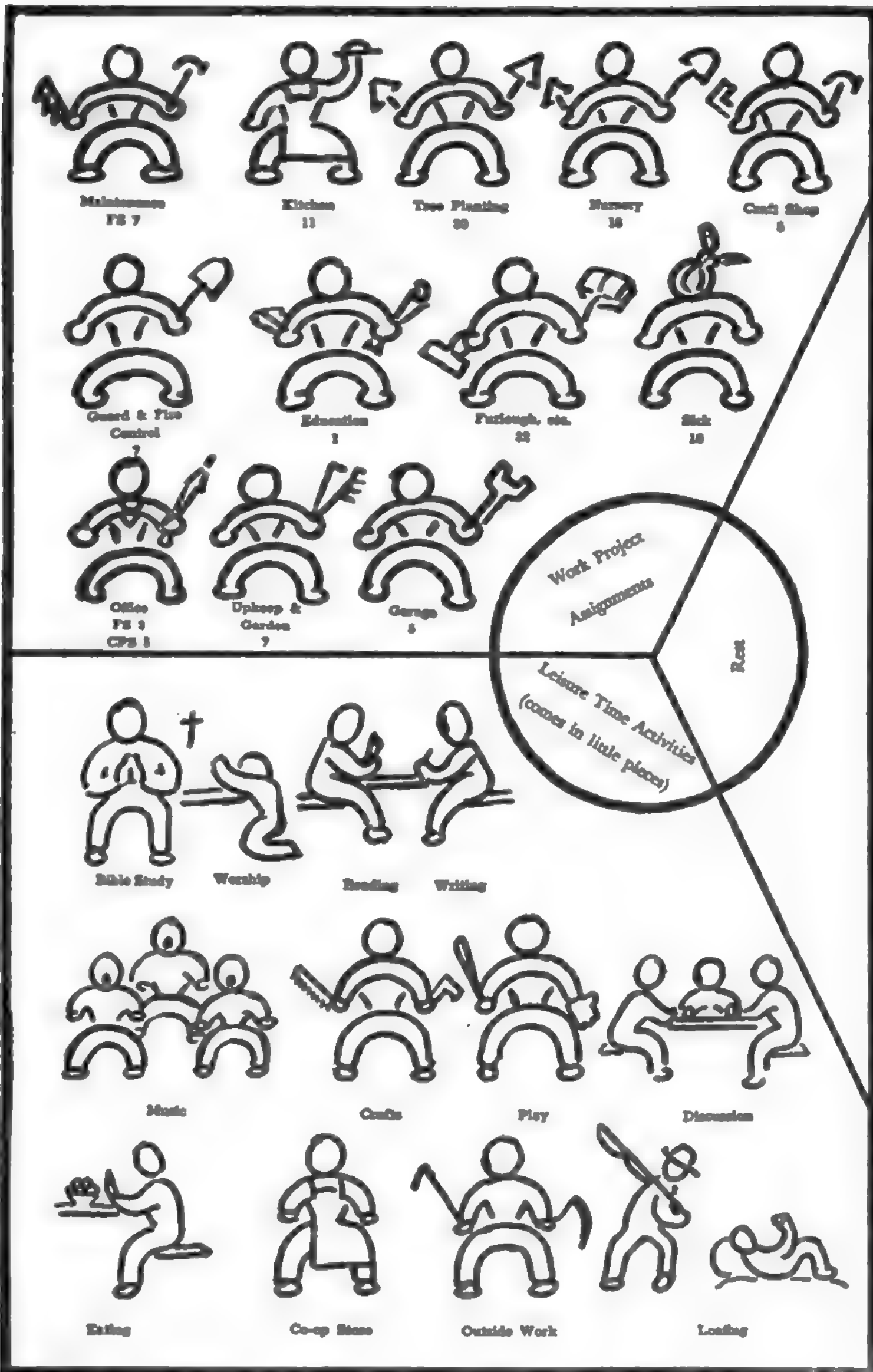
similar interests and temperaments—friends, perhaps, who had decided among themselves to serve in these outposts. Also contributory was the fact that the group was numerically smaller than the main camp, and the men were thrown thereby into a more intimate relationship to each other. Further, because of their isolation and comparative lack of facilities the side camps did not offer as attractive a situation as the main camp, and as a consequence many of those volunteering for such assignments were those most willing to forego conveniences to serve in the work program. And finally the isolation of these units bred a natural cohesiveness among the members of the group, for more than ever they were forced back upon their own resources to provide an adequate and satisfactory life.

Side camps presented a difficult obstacle to the development of a total unit program. In the first place they caused a dispersal of facilities and leadership personnel with a resultant weakening of the camp program for both groups. In the second place, since they were transient in nature, they interrupted the camp program both as they were formed and as they were disbanded, until it became quite difficult to maintain a continuous development at either location.<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction to Camp Life*

Introducing the assignee to camp life was an informal

<sup>1</sup>At Belden, in May-June 1944, two thirds of the camp personnel left for six side camps. A year later eight camps were spread over three hundred miles in a north-south direction (educational report, Belden, May-June 1944, page 1; and May-June 1945, page 1). At Cascade Locks in the summer of 1944 "division of about two thirds of the camp among four side camps . . . does not improve the possibilities for corporate worship" (letter of Robert E. Case, director, to W. Harold Row, August 26, 1944, page 1). Over half the men at Cascade Locks were in side camps a year later (educational report, Cascade Locks, July-August 1945, page 1).



**TYPICAL DAILY ACTIVITIES AT CAMP WELLSTON**

and comparatively brief procedure in the early days of Brethren CPS. Then the process consisted largely of a tour of inspection and a series of interviews with the camp staff. Through the national offices at Elgin, however, administrators urged Selective Service to allot more time for the orienting of the new camper, while, locally, educational secretaries likewise urged project superintendents to approve an expanded program. Eventually approval was secured from Selective Service. Thus, the period of orientation was extended theoretically over ninety days, but lack of personnel limited this span to the first month; and intensive efforts were usually confined to a week or twelve days. Though the period of conditioning varied among the several units, the expanded program included most of the following procedures.

On the man's first day in camp he was taken on a tour of inspection, established in a dormitory, and introduced to various staff members and campers. Some time was spent explaining the local camp government and customs and the Selective Service regulations. Interviews with the education, recreation, and religious-life secretaries afforded the new inductee a chance to learn of the opportunities present for enriching his off-duty hours. In some instances a discussion was arranged whereby he could be assisted in gaining perspective on his position as a conscientious objector. Explanations of the service opportunities in CPS, both in camp and on special projects, were given also. To acquaint the man with the work project, and to instruct him in safety, fire control, and the use of tools, a conference was usually held with one of the technical agency representatives. In some units instruction was offered in standard Red Cross first aid as part of this

initial period. Meanwhile, various forms were completed, and a medical examination and immunization shots were given.

Different methods were used to present these aspects of orientation. Sometimes the program was followed out on successive days; a preferable plan seemed to be to alternate the conditioning with days on project work. Thus the assignee could make better use of discussion periods and conferences after a wider contact with the total camp environment.

Of the many areas of camp experience confronting the new assignee, some of the most important were those concerned with the educational, recreational, and religious activities of the conscientious objector community. To each of these fields the administrators and men of Brethren CPS had given much time and effort. As a consequence the camps all had some type of organized program in these interests. However, it must be borne in mind continuously that the individual camper was confronted by each aspect of his environment in all its interrelationships with every other. No one phase of the camp program impinged upon his field of action alone, but rather brought with it implications of and for the many other phases of the total camp life.

#### EDUCATION IN THE BRETHREN CAMPS

The educational program of the base camps was a venture into an area where little or no precedent had been set. The experience was unique in that it was one of the few times in history that a group of men, drawn together by a common allegiance to peace and the impact of a draft law, lived together in a restricted

community. Minority groups with pacifist convictions had been isolated heretofore, but usually they had withdrawn from society voluntarily. Moreover, such groups possessed a cultural unity. In Brethren CPS, on the other hand, there was a great range in the abilities and backgrounds of the assignees,<sup>2</sup> and the men in camp were ever conscious of the restrictive features of their status. The education program which evolved under these circumstances was experimental in nature and subject to constant change through the years of its development.

Generalizations about success or failure in education have doubtful meaning. It is possible to describe a program and to indicate that some methods seem to obtain better results than others,<sup>3</sup> but the learning experience itself is not easily measured. A discussion of the Brethren CPS education program which tabulated only courses presented and the number of men participating would overlook the creative, purpose-forming aspects of the total experience in the camps, besides being fraught with the dangers of implying that a man is educated because he submits himself to a specified number of lectures and writes a required number of words summarizing the knowledge he has gained. Attempts to evaluate informal educative experiences are equally open to misinterpretation. The spark that means that an idea has caught and has become part of the life tissue of a man was sometimes present in an educational activity, sometimes not, and the man himself often remained unconscious of these formative impulses. To measure adequately the educational experiences of Brethren CPS would require time

<sup>2</sup>See chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup>See page 163 for a listing of obstacles and success factors in BCPS education.



and a study of decisions as yet unmade by the same pacifists.

With a recognition, then, of the elusive nature of the learning process, a description of the common features of the base-camp education programs may be undertaken. Fundamental to such a description is a consideration of the basic assumptions of both the sponsoring agencies and the men.

What objectives were foremost in the minds of those who guided the initial formation of the educational program? In December 1940, a conference of peace groups involved in the NSBRO thought in terms of the physical health of assignees, training in the technical work assignment, training in line with the interests, aptitudes and previous experiences of the conscientious objectors, and the encouragement of a wholesome attitude toward democratic government and the fundamental teachings and philosophy of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets.<sup>4</sup>

From the comprehensive statement of CPS aims previously noted, the portions which apply most directly to the education program may be reconsidered:

We envisage this program as an opportunity for personal as well as community growth. . . . [We seek] to develop and exemplify ways of co-operative, non-violent, democratic, and serviceable community living; and in such communities to test and develop by critical study and experience the ideals by reason of which we sought this alternative service. To prepare for service of reconstruction both at home and abroad to alleviate the ill effects of war, to make a continuing effort to eliminate the causes of war . . . .<sup>5</sup>

Assignee educational directors, at a meeting in Elgin, May 1943, thought in terms of broad social purpose when

<sup>4</sup>Report of an NSBRO conference, December 26, 1940.

<sup>5</sup>See page 46.



they proposed the following aims for the education program:

. . . our presence in C.P.S. should grow into a more positive commitment to a philosophy and program designed to make future war improbable through developing a harmonious world society.

1. There should develop in each unit a serious concern that this period of assignment be one of study and preparation for sharing the challenge of building a saner world—a world in which we may implant our ideals of cooperation, democracy, and pacifism—a world to be built without recourse to war and without the seeds of war in it.

2. Each educational enterprise should be consciously evaluated in regard to its probable constructive value in achieving this [kind of a] world.

3. The educational program should be centered about each individual's interest and potential achievement in relation to ultimate social harmony.

4. Educational methods used should be consistent with our ideals of the "good society." This means discarding competitive stimulus toward conformity and respecting individual growth and creativity. It means an obligation to seek in every area of life the objective evidence which we may use in building the world we describe and the constant willingness to revise our views in regard to such evidence.<sup>6</sup>

In 1945, Morris T. Keeton, national education secretary, indicated that two primary aims of BCPS education were: "1) growth of each individual in development and application of his life plans and 2) peaceful change of our culture and its institutions in the direction of our ideals."<sup>7</sup>

Divergence between the aims of BCPS education and the program as it actually developed in the base-camp

<sup>6</sup>*A Bulletin on Aims*, August 5, 1943, page 3.

<sup>7</sup>Morris T. Keeton, *Report to Regional Men on Current Status and Emphases in BCPS Education*, May 8, 1945, page 2.

situation was to be expected. Before examining the latter, however, the organization and functions of the education offices should be considered.

The program developed under the dual administration of the national education secretary at Elgin and the local camp education secretary and/or education committee. While a detailed account of the function of the national office is given in chapter 13, it may be noted here that the educational services extended by them included provision of faculty, financial aids and grants, providing aid to the educational atmosphere (audio-visual aids, necessary equipment, library facilities), fostering of specialized schools and institutes, preparation of bulletins and a manual of educational helps, accrediting, distribution of materials, issuing memorandums, supplying individual counseling service, publicity on news of educational activities, and other related services. These were developed through correspondence between Elgin and the local units, through visits to the base camps by members of the Elgin staff, through periodic assignee conferences, and by work with area supervisors who kept in close touch with the projects.

Primary responsibility for the development of the program rested, however, with the local educational secretary in each camp, and with the assignees themselves. This was in harmony with the Brethren CPS policy of local-unit autonomy in educational matters.

Generally, the base-camp educational secretary, assisted by a volunteer or elected committee, worked in the following areas: discovery of individual needs and provision of help in individual adjustment and growth; aid in development of a program working toward basic institution-

al change (improvement in the field of mental hygiene, effectiveness in the struggle against war, constructive channels for erasing the causes of war, etc.); orientation of new members (in co-operation with the personnel staff); supervision of all training activities; co-operation with the religious-life staff and the recreational committee; educational counseling; arranging for visiting speakers; vocational guidance; and the preparation of reports on these activities.

### *Educational Emphases and Trends*

As the several years of Brethren base camps are surveyed, certain trends and emphases seem apparent in the education program. Those most noticeable developed around subject-matter interests, methods of teaching and learning, and camper participation in the program.

Of the many subject-matter interests in the camps the most widespread and enduring included reconstruction and relief, pacifism, Bible study, acquisition of skills, and co-operative living. Reconstruction and relief, and pacifism were especially emphasized during the first years of CPS; thereafter, although they continued to draw interest, they were not the center of as much individual and group study as formerly.

In 1942 the education program was clearly pointed toward training in reconstruction. In a Brethren Service Committee report to the Council of Boards, this emphasis was strong.

The Brethren Service Committee is very anxious to use the camps as training grounds for post-war reconstruction projects. At a recent meeting of the educational directors at Elgin it was agreed that the

entire camp experience should rightly be regarded as a training program for reconstruction.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, with reconstruction, in a broad sense, as one of the major goals of the camp training program, courses were set up to deal with specific aspects of the task of remaking world society in the postwar era. A survey of classes offered in February, March, and April of 1943 in the camps indicated the extent and range of instruction bearing on reconstruction and relief training. During this three-month period, seven of the ten camps reporting offered standard first aid, and over half of them offered advanced courses in first aid. Some camps had classes in infirmary training and home nursing. The survey revealed considerable activity in language study, with seven camps reporting classes in Spanish, four reporting classes in German, one in French, and one in Chinese. Special training in mobile disaster unit operations was available in six camps, often in conjunction with fire training schools in forestry and park service camps. Special courses in the general problems of relief and reconstruction were offered in six camps, while two had courses in postwar planning. Over a third of the camps had courses in community living and in agricultural problems. The most active promotional effort in formal camp education during this period of Brethren CPS was in reconstruction training. The project at Crestview, Florida, and the Castañer unit in Puerto Rico were, in effect, laboratories for this type of work.<sup>9</sup>

Special training units at Manchester College and Co-

<sup>8</sup>A Brethren Service Committee report to the Council of Boards, April 15, 1942, page 5.

<sup>9</sup>Keeton, *Report of Educational Activities in Brethren Civilian Public Service*, May 31, 1943, page 5 ff.

lumbia University were projected into this area of interest, also.<sup>10</sup> However, when Congressional restrictions prohibited conscientious objectors from working in rehabilitation areas abroad, and as the years of BCPS lengthened, specific classes in this type of training declined, though general interest in rehabilitation and relief work persisted.

Pacifism was also a major emphasis in the BCPS curriculum. The classes varied in content, including a historical approach to the subject, studies of nonviolent techniques of action, and discussions of personal pacifist disciplines and the pacifist's role in world affairs. Nine of the ten camps which reported in the 1943 survey previously mentioned had courses specifically devoted to training in pacifism. At that time, the national survey noted:

Aside from religious education, this is the strongest single emphasis in our camps in terms of formal classes. Our most pervasive and effective education in pacifism, however, has come in community meetings and other gatherings discussing issues of conscience arising in Civilian Public Service.<sup>11</sup>

Six months later it could no longer be said that pacifism was as strong an emphasis in base-camp education, though pacifist ideals and techniques were still the center of study and discussion. Here, as with reconstruction and relief, the interest of the later years was shown not in organized "formal" classes but through other channels.

Bible study classes were well sustained throughout the entire period of BCPS education. They attracted a small group, however. In the camps with a large percentage

<sup>10</sup>The Manchester and Columbia units are described on pages 317 and 315 respectively.

<sup>11</sup>Kecton, *Report of Educational Activities* . . . May 31, 1943, page 6.

of the conservative religious element, such courses were more frequently scheduled and better attended than in the camps with a large "liberal" group.

Training in practical manual arts appeared often in the curriculum of base camps during the total period of BCPS education. Shop skills were available in some degree in all camps, especially carpentry and elementary woodworking. Other classes such as auto mechanics, welding, radio, photography, home electricity, and similar studies were frequently offered.

Interest in co-operatives was present in the initial stage of BCPS education and grew until in 1945 a visitor of base camps characterized the growth of interest in consumer co-operatives on the part of assignees as "truly phenomenal."<sup>12</sup> The presence of a co-op store in most base camps provided an opportunity for valuable practical experience and was the means of teaching functional economics and democracy. Further encouragement to study in this field can be attributed to the special School of Co-operative Living at Walhalla and Wellston, whose influence "ran . . . throughout the camps."<sup>13</sup>

Educational reports from base camps indicate that in several other subject-matter areas there was sufficient activity to be significant. The curriculum included fairly frequent classes, panels, and discussion groups on agriculture and rural living. To a lesser extent, yet sufficiently frequent to point to a definite assignee interest, activities were developed in fine arts, music, speech, classical literature, poetry, and drama. In the last years of the program increasing interest was focused on ma-

<sup>12</sup>Letter of Morris Mitchell, July 9, 1945.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

terials which concerned the men in a personal sense, such as vocational information, psychology, psychiatry, and preparation for demobilization.

These major emphases were found in many of the experiences of camp life other than in education courses. A study of the topics of visiting speakers reveals that many presented material on spiritual growth; community living; pacifism; personal problems such as courtship, marriage, and family; and co-operatives. Educational movies were concerned generally with similar subject matter. The choices of library materials often followed the same lines, and camp newspapers also devoted much of their space to these emphases. Informal discussions, where education through association and assimilation took place, were frequently centered about these concerns of the assignees.

Though the education program focused on the primary interests of the men in base camps, there was provision for individual preferences, as illustrated in the following report:

Something of the variety of interests and emphases which pervades our camps can be seen from the following listing of other classes offered between February 1 and April 30 [1943]: Speech (5 camps); Radio (3 camps); Forestry (1); Nature Study (2); Electricity (3); Meteorology (1); Shorthand (3); Typing (4); Sociology (1); Cooperatives (1); Interracial Understanding (2); Sex, Marriage, and Family (5); Socialist Discussion Group (1); Abnormal Psychology (preparatory to mental hospital service) (1); Sewing (1); Current Events (1); Statistics (1); Elementary Mathematics (1); Junior Business Training (1); College Algebra (1); Differential Equations (1); Trigonometry (1); Bookkeeping (1); Mechanical Drawing (1); Elementary English (3). Throughout our camps there are to be found



safety meetings, moving pictures, camp newspapers, darkrooms, and other aids to special educational emphases.<sup>14</sup>

This broad range of courses, offered in addition to the primary emphases of the program, is typical of the years 1942 and 1943. It should be noted, however, that a survey of the later years of BCPS education discloses a greatly reduced program in the more formal, class-type activities.

These interests of the men—reconstruction and relief, pacifism, Bible study, training in skills, co-operative living, and the many other concerns which have been noted—were developed in the base camps through a large variety of methods. In the early years the emphasis was on classes which followed the traditional patterns of public school education, with qualified assignee teachers, texts, and examinations. Classes of this type were part of the program through the entire period of BCPS education; by 1943, however, it became apparent that the men in base camp responded with more enthusiasm to flexibility in programming and so emphasis was shifted to other methods of learning. Experience was indicating that interest groups were more effective means of stimulating educational growth than conventional classes. Such groups were very much like classes except that there was no definite requirement of attendance or participation, talent was often pooled, so that the teaching responsibility was divided, and the group functioned only so long as a sustained interest justified its continuance.

Supplementing these methods was the development of an extensive program whereby prominent leaders from various fields—religion, education, co-operatives, community living, psychology and psychiatry, pacifism, rural

<sup>14</sup>Keeton, *Report of Educational Activities* . . . May 31, 1943, page 7.



life, and others—visited the camps to speak and counsel with the men. Some of the speakers who visited the camps most frequently were Paul Schilpp, D. W. Bittering, C. Ray Keim, Morris Mitchell, A. J. Muste, M. N. Chatterjee, Dan West, Ferner Nuhn, Kirby Page, James Myers, Katherine W. Taylor, Roland Bainton, Frank Olmstead, George A. Buttrick, and Kermit Eby. Although the reception accorded the visitors varied in proportion to their individual talents, they were rather generally well appreciated. The effectiveness of their efforts was increased when they were able to stay in the camps long enough to know some of the men personally and to share with them a common camp life.

Other successful types of educational activity that came to be emphasized more and more in the middle and later periods of CPS were panel discussions, forums, individualized activities and study, educational films, personal counseling and guidance, and the specialized schools.

One of the major factors leading to the shift from the classroom-type activities was the declining interest of the assignees in the education program of the camps, noticeably evident about midway in 1943. Prior to that time interest and participation in educational activities seemed high, as camps such as Magnolia in 1942 and 1943 carried on a program which was dynamic, broad in emphasis, and aimed at meeting all camper needs. In the same period, education reports and camp newssheets reflected an optimistic, outgoing spirit. However, participation began to decline, the tone changed, and those interested in BCPS education in base camps became concerned. Statistics on the extent of participation are inadequate for any generalizations. The following com-

ments, however, by assignees working directly with the educational program, are typical of the information which is available on participation in the later years.

In November-December 1943 at Camp Lyndhurst there were nine formal classes with an *active* participation of sixty men, plus the eight teachers. The rather impressive weekly attendance of the classes, which met at least once a week, was eighty-three. In interpreting these statistics, however, the local educational secretary pointed out: "A listing of the active members revealed that there were 39 different men taking part in the classes. This represents a little over 1/3 of the camp population . . . ." <sup>15</sup>

The education committee was concerned about the small number of men participating.<sup>16</sup> They recommended a more adequate orientation program, a study of rural life techniques,<sup>17</sup> and something to interest men who "aren't interested in anything." Earlier, at Lyndhurst, the educational secretary had described the excellent attendance at a current discussion group, then added:

In the remainder of the program, it is the same old story. Initiation and motivation of the activities continues to come from the half dozen men who teach the courses. The classes are all small, ranging from two up to twelve. Once again, the largest group of non-participants is among those who have felt that 1) there are better ways of spending your time than going to classes, and 2) those "educated guys" will run it, anyway.<sup>18</sup>

Concerning participation in the educational activities at Camp Wellston, in January-February 1945 the educational secretary reported:

<sup>15</sup>Paul Keller, educational report, Lyndhurst, November-December 1943, page 3.

<sup>16</sup>A larger percentage, undoubtedly, than in later years, though a lack of statistics makes a comparison very difficult.

<sup>17</sup>The camp had many men of agricultural background.

<sup>18</sup>Educational report, Lyndhurst, November 1, 1943, page 3.

Our educational program is contributing quite definitely to the individual growth of the campers. As is always true, however, there are some who are not reached by an educational program such as we have here. We have the good interest of at least 1/3 of the camp who show an active interest in an educational program and take definite advantage of all opportunities our program presents. There are less than a third who are not too much concerned with their individual participation in the program we provide. These campers are occupied with their own interests (family, wives, hobbies, etc.) and so it is safe to assume that our educational program is not reaching them as much as it might. Probably there is not too much of a need as far as this group is concerned. The other 1/3 show little interest in the educational program proper and hence they are not being reached as they should be. Probably many of this group are carrying on with hobbies and interests of their own; no survey has made any conclusive observations. This constitutes a problem which we will have to work with, in some measure, to help those who are not taking advantage of the educational opportunities afforded them through the educational budget.<sup>19</sup>

In the development of new educational methods in the camps, emphasis was placed on encouraging camper participation in the planning of all proposed educational projects. Attempts were made to respond to any interest shown by the campers. Morris Keeton, in a discussion of problems of the BCPS educational program, noted in this regard: "Our [assignees'] almost universal desire that educational activities be of men's own choices has required that we evolve our educational philosophy together. That process of maturing agreement on methods consistent with democratic education has taken us a long time."<sup>20</sup>

The attempt to "be consistent with democratic meth-

<sup>19</sup>Alfred E. Hollenberg, educational report, Wellston, January-February 1945, page 1.

<sup>20</sup>Keeton, a newsletter to education secretaries, November 16, 1945.

ods" meant that constant adjustment had to be made to meet the men's interests. Some of the techniques involved in this type of education are illustrated in the following excerpt from a base-camp education report of November 1943. The material has significance also in that it indicates interests of the assignees at this stage and touches on the intangible educational experiences which come from a mutual sharing of problems.

**EVOLUTION OF A DISCUSSION GROUP:** In the last general report it was noted that we were attempting to build our new educational program around a discussion group. Four general topics were offered the community group from which they could choose one which they would like to work for the next few weeks. The topic finally chosen was, "What Do We Want From Life?"<sup>21</sup> A group of about thirty turned out to help choose the topic, and went on to select a steering committee of five men. This steering committee has been maintained, in spite of the fact that some of the men on it originally have been transferred. The function of the steering committee is to organize the form and subject matter of each discussion, and be responsible for seeing that adequate preparation is made for each meeting.

In comparison with the fine attendance at the first meeting, the second meeting was very poorly attended—around twenty being present. More important, the largest part of the group that turned up the second time was the group that was considered to be the liberal and intellectual element in the camp. The subject matter of the second session had to do with "Techniques of Discussion." A poster was made to represent graphically the various discussion techniques, and two men were responsible for elaborating on them for the group. Following the regular meeting a rump session developed, with the "liberals" asking themselves why so few of the other fellows in camp had come, and why those who did come had not taken part in the discussion. Several additional sessions grew out of this meet-

<sup>21</sup>This was chosen in preference to three other topics, "Where Does the Lyndhurst Camper Fit Into CPS"; "What After CPS"; and "Religion in the Community" (educational report, Lyndhurst, September 1, 1943, page 1).

ing—that is, informal meetings to which everyone interested was invited. These meetings were not scheduled. They were simply opportunities for talking over this concern as to why a more representative group could not be attracted to the discussion of common problems and ideas. Barriers were recognized between the “educated” and “non-educated,” and between the religious “fundamentalists” and the religious “liberals.” But the group felt that even with these differences it should be possible for men in CPS to exchange views on important topics.

Out of these extra sessions, then, grew the suggestion that, in each of the discussions, an attempt should be made to have each important point-of-view in camp represented. A subject allowing of expression of different viewpoints was chosen. Three men were asked to talk for five minutes (not a moment longer) on the topic, “What I would like to see by 1953.” They were agreed beforehand to discuss the topic in terms of religious and social change. One of the men was a leader in the “fundamentalist” group, another was a “liberal,” and the third was a representative of the middle ground. At the conclusion of the three five-minute talks a general closely-chairmanned discussion was held. The meeting had been given good publicity and over thirty were present. The spirit of the discussion was good and developed into the issue between the social gospel and individual evangelism. The group wanted to continue along that line, so the next meeting, it decided, was to [be] spent . . . [discussing] the topic, “What Should Be the Message of the Church? To Whom Should it be Delivered, and in What Manner?” The same pattern was used as had been used in the previous discussion, and once again the attendance was over thirty. The meeting developed several direct clashes in religious point-of-view, but a tolerant spirit was maintained, and, at the close of the session, the group decided it would like to spend still another meeting on the same topic.<sup>22</sup>

Further efforts to develop techniques that would stimulate assignees whose interest in classes had dropped to the “vanishing point”<sup>23</sup> are described in the following

<sup>22</sup>Educational report, Lyndhurst, November 1, 1943, page 1 ff.

<sup>23</sup>Educational report, Bedford, July 1944, page 2.

report of education at Camp Bedford in September-December 1944.

During the four months covered by this report we tried . . . a number of educational projects which were new in form and content to this camp.

The first of these was a series of panel discussions which took place on three nights . . . with three participants: Milbrun Diller, from the Sykesville unit; Elmer Shaw, from the Lynchburg colony; and Bill Ackerman, representing the home team. The general subject was: "Has Christianity Meaning for Today?" and this was broken down into the components of "Meaning for the Individual in His Personal Problems," "Meaning to the Individual in His Relation to Others," and "Meaning as Expressed Through the Church." The method followed was to have each member of the panel speak for a few minutes then to question each other and discuss briefly among themselves and then to throw the meeting open for questions from and discussion with the floor.

Each meeting was preceded by a brief worship service. The panels attracted a pretty good number of campers for each night. The members of the panel . . . handled the somewhat generalized subjects pretty well, raised some good leading questions, and on the whole provoked interest and sometimes quite lively discussion . . . . One thing . . . accomplished was that it managed to put CPS men in a position where they were able to swap punches with other campers and yet maintain some of the detachment that accrues to visiting speakers. Inasmuch as campers generally have a tendency to pull every CPS man down to a general camp norm and thus to deprive themselves of any special knowledge or usefulness that he may possess, this type of activity was valuable in restoring CPS men to respectability and dignity in the eyes of the campers . . . . We feel that the degree of formality involved in a panel discussion was useful in raising the general plane of discussion to a level above a general melée where the devil takes the hindmost and foremost.<sup>24</sup>

Illustrative of base-camp education in the last years of

<sup>24</sup>Branford Millar, educational report, Bedford, September-December 1944, page 1 ff.

CPS is the program of Wellston in early 1945. Their report for January-February of that year described the newer techniques that had come to the fore by that time. Because it affords an excellent picture of a total camp program, it is reproduced at some length.

## II. The Program:

### A. *Orientation interviews:* . . .

B. *Discussions:* (1) *Round Table:* These discussions or forums are being held every two weeks or so. We have three speakers usually for each round table. The subjects include topics of current interest (Dumbarton Oaks, Propaganda), a session lasting about an hour. Interest is fairly high in this type of forum. Camper reaction is good.

(2) *The Fellowship Forum:* The F. F. continues to hold the interest of a good number of campers. The reactions to this sort of discussion (more properly, forum) indicate that it is well taken. Many of the campers are reluctant to participate because of their lack of self-confidence. But it's one good way to get them on the way to developing speaker's poise.

(3) *Co-op School Discussion* on "What Makes The Wheels Go 'Round?" is progressing with the steady interest of about 15 people. They have finished the first phase of their efforts to get a picture of the contemporary general economic scene and its problems.

(4) *The Pacifist Workshop* is preparing for their second session of meetings this week. This group has the problem that is always present at any meeting where "they want to do something concrete." Interest is good, though not as general as it was hoped.

(5) *The History and Theory of Socialist Thought* discussion hit off one particularly interesting session that they are going to continue. It was a bull session of such a nature that "questions about Socialism" were asked and answered in a systematic order.

(6) Dan West sent his pamphlet on "What Ought a Conscript Do?" to our camp. Dan is planning to re-write this pamphlet and asked for the suggestions [and] opinions of the campers here before he put the article in its final form. Those who came to the meeting, however, were not the "old timers" whom Dan probably wanted to



give their opinions, but were of the younger, more idealistic group. So probably he didn't get exactly what he wanted, though it was good thought stimulator for the group that participated. Some old campers were there to inject a few "radical" thoughts.

*C. Classes:* (1) *Typing:* This class is continuing although many of the members have dropped out because of the impending transfers. About 10 members are continuing. The class will continue until Hollenberg leaves camp. Textbooks were purchased from a nearby school at 64 cents apiece. Some of the campers are buying a book and hope to continue "on their own." . . .

(2) *Algebra Class:* Class has dropped; there is only one member continuing the course.

(3) *Chess Class:* This class hopes to terminate its efforts in a tournament.

(4) *Bible Study:*

a) Bible History Course

(C. Conrad Browne)—twice weekly . . . . . 15\*

b) Chicago Bible Students—once weekly . . . . . 9

c) Jehovah's Witnesses—five times weekly . . . . . 15

d) Christian Fellowship (John Reiley)—four times weekly . 4

The star (\*) indicates approximate average attendance.

(5) *Shorthand:* Charles Davidson is teaching a couple of fellows shorthand. They meet at their convenience. . . .

*D. Special Programs:*

(1) [Five speakers visited during the two months; one discussed consumer cooperatives, one the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and three spoke on topics of religious interest.]

(2) *Informal parties:* These small parties involving on the average about 25 fellows arose from campers themselves who wished to give a farewell to fellows going on detached service [special projects]. We haven't encouraged these parties since they do not include all those who are going on detached service.

(3) *Movies:*<sup>25</sup>

a) Regular:

1. "No Time For Love" 1-4-45

<sup>25</sup>The four full-length features are not typical movie-fare for base camps. Usually serious pictures were shown in about the same proportion as "escape" entertainment. The "special features" were approximately one-half-hour films.



2. "Adventures of Sherlock Holmes" 1-18-45
3. "Claudia" 2-15-45
4. "Cleopatra" 2-1-45
- b) Special Features:
  1. Service Command
    - (a) Kill or be Killed
    - (b) The Bayonet Fighter
    - (c) Modern Weather Theory and Structure of Storms  
Primary Circulation 1-25-45
    - (d) Modern Weather Theory and Structure of Storms  
Development . . . 1-25-45
  2. Co-op:
    - (e) "Mexico Builds a Democracy" 2-26-45
    - (f) "Children Must Learn" 2-26-45
    - (g) "Machine, Master or Slave?" 3-1-45
    - (h) "Construction of a Light Airplane" 3-1-45

(4) *Camp Paper*: John Baker is taking over very active interest in publishing a monthly camp paper. . . . calling it "The Acumen." . . .

(5) *All Camp Birthday Parties*: Every month we are having one of these parties, which are short after-dinner affairs. . . .

(6) The U. S. Forest Service sponsored a *Field Day* on February 13. . . .

(7) *Music*:

Lytell Barrett, a former camper and colored fellow, gave a voice recital February 20. . . .

(8) *Recreation Tournaments*: Pool and ping-pong tournaments are now in progress. A third, chess, is to be started after the chess class has produced some potent competitors. . . .

(11) *Co-op industry or Producers Assoc.* . . . Organization meetings of the group have been held. A draft of by-laws . . . [was] discussed, and approved. Two basic points I mention: (1) membership is open to everyone (within the limits of the kind of work that is to be done); (2) no non-members are to be employed. The management committee consists of: Rudy Potochnik, Chr., Charles Christiansen, Manager, Art Danforth, Treasurer, Gordon Nutson, Sales Representative, Bill Kenner, Ed. Dir.

The present plan is that all jobs will have an hourly compensation except [that of] the chairman, which is voluntary. Time study on production work is being made as a basis for apportioning net earnings. Materials are being ordered for production of 500 wagons. Membership is being solicited among those who have attended any of the organization meetings. Basic danger confronting the group: having their funds invested in goods in process and have . . . [most] of the members transferred out of camp by SSS or BSC, which makes all business calculations quite uncertain. This fact keeps certain interested parties from becoming a member.

(13) *Job Relations Training Course*: This is a course under the sponsorship of the U. S. Civil Service in an effort to train supervisors to handle job relations problems more intelligently. . . . This course was placed here through the instrument of the Technical Agency (U.S.F.S.). . . . Ten men took the course. Those . . . felt it was profitable to a good extent. The course extended over a period of two days or ten hours (five 2-hour sessions).

#### *E. Looking Forward*

(1) . . .

(2) . . .

(3) *Chorus*: Juvinal is planning to start chorus again (provided he isn't transferred west. . . . (Music is one place our program is deficient . . . . Quartets have been unsuccessful, due to being broken up by transfers. . . .

(4) *Crafts*: Now that we have a full time man in the craft shop, we will be able to put across a more concerted emphasis on crafts. New campers are being oriented a short while in the craft shop to encourage their use of it.

(5) *Class in Speech*: This remains where it was last time—still not able to find a speaker or leader for the group. Quite a few campers have expressed a definite interest in such a class.

(6) *Piano Lessons*: Few campers are interested in taking piano lessons. Mrs. Howard Ten Brink (wife of camper) has volunteered to teach them free of charge.

(7) *The Library*: We are in the process of making a title file index of our books. At the present only an author index is existing.

*F. Problems:*

- (1) Fit educational program so as to encourage wider participation.
- (2) Wider reading on "Pacifism and related subjects."
- (3) Try to work in individual progress checks.<sup>26</sup>

The above report, chosen because it presents a good picture of the camp activities as a whole, was typical of many reports from many camps. Among the insights which it affords into the group life are: the main subject matter emphases (with the addition of interest in socialism, which was stronger at Wellston than at other units); the wide use of forum and discussion techniques; the interest in crafts; the assumption that the experienced campers were likely to be cynical; the participation of wives in camp activities; the visiting speakers following the main lines of emphases; the feeling of uncertainty which pervaded many undertakings, due in part to the transiency of the camp group; and the sense that the goals were adequate but that lack of personnel curtailed the program.

Meanwhile, in considering camp developments of the later years of Brethren CPS, the increased emphasis on personal counseling and guidance should be noted. A pressing need was felt to supplement the educational program with a procedure which would reach each camper as an individual, considering specifically his problems, needs, and interests. As the time of systematic discharge drew near, a special attempt was made to use demobilization as a focus for stimulating educational growth. These efforts centered in vocational guidance, exploration of employment possibilities, and encouragement of camper

<sup>26</sup>Hollenberg, educational report, Wellston, January-February 1945, page 2 ff.

interest in formal education by assistance through accrediting and financial aid. This trend toward personalized service is illustrated by the following excerpts.

In January 1945 Cascade Locks reported:

The policy of the program remains essentially the same. Specifically, it is to work with the men individually, to aid them in planning their vocation, securing work, or making educational plans. Further, it is to attempt to draw out men's talents, to encourage cultural and recreational activities . . . . In a word, our efforts are directed to helping the individual adjust to his world . . . .<sup>27</sup>

In October 1945 the late emphasis of the Bedford program is described thus:

Since demobilization is making its way into the front lines, I [the education secretary] have been devoting more of my time toward personnel work. . . . I am directing less and less effort into the educational lines as such except that which concerns the individual's plans after CPS.<sup>28</sup>

### *Special Schools*

Paralleling the educational developments noted in the preceding pages, which were more or less characteristics of all the Brethren base camps, was a series of specialized schools. These schools may be understood as an effort to provide interested camper groups an opportunity for intensive training in a specific field of study. Although they were operated within the confines of the regular base camps, they were not meant to supplant or diminish the other educational developments current in the unit. Rather, they were planned as an additional feature of the total program; offering facilities and means of learning not otherwise available, including a special

<sup>27</sup>Educational report, Cascade Locks, November-December 1945, page 3.

<sup>28</sup>Hollenberg, educational report, Bedford, September-October 1945, page 4.

budget, professional or semiprofessional leadership, special equipment and library resources, and other similar advantages.

Five schools were organized within the base-camp system: the School of Co-operative Living, located first at Walhalla, and then at Wellston; the Foods Management School, located first at Lyndhurst, with a second session at Magnolia (and a third session at the special project, New Windsor); the School of Pacifist Living, at Cascade Locks; the School of Race Relations at Kane; and the Fine Arts Group at Waldport. Because it was possible for assignees to transfer (within limits) from other units to the specialized schools, these experiments belonged, in a sense, to the total educational program of Brethren CPS rather than to their particular home camps.

Participants in the schools were responsible for a full day's work on project in the same manner as were other assignees, except at the Schools of Foods Management.

### School of Co-operative Living

The establishment of the School of Co-operative Living at Camp Walhalla, Michigan, was the result of extensive correspondence among CPS men who were interested in co-operatives, of quick response with financial aid and interest by the Brethren Service Committee, and substantial encouragement by national leaders of the co-operative movement.

April of 1943 saw the arrival of a full-time director for the school, Morris Mitchell, educator and founder of the Macedonia Co-operative Community; and some sixty men, eager to study and share the adventures of co-operative living in a CPS camp. The transferees to the school

varied in background. Most of them possessed the skills and insights of a good academic education; some were men experienced in co-operative endeavors, while others were acquainted with co-operatives only through the local stores in the camps from which they came.

The program of the school was a refreshing departure from traditional classroom-lecture methods. Mitchell, an advocate of functional education, approached the problems of school organization by a period of counseling, guidance, examination of individual and group interests, and the working out of analyses wherein each man thought in terms of his long- and short-time interests and objectives, and the immediate steps which should be taken to achieve these goals.

In addition to the individual guidance of the director, counsel was given to the men by experienced assignees within the school group. This procedure functioned more adequately in the first weeks of the program than later.

School members discovered similar interests and gradually organized themselves into study groups (numbering between five and fifteen men) in co-operative education, co-operative rural community, and co-operative business. Other activities centered about the compilation of a manager's workbook, the model community, the co-operative community, and the recreation groups. Individual investigations into specific fields such as co-operative law, co-operative medicine, and problems of particular areas were carried out by students in these fields.

Each week several general meetings were held. At these meetings members presented progress reports, sharing the results of their work and reading. Much of the creative work brought to these sessions was done in small

discussion groups, held frequently though irregularly through the week. School policy and business were also handled in the group meetings.

Laboratory projects developed in evenings and on furloughs included a successful apiary which furnished several hundred pounds of honey, distributed by the Jack Pines Co-operative Store at Walhalla; the construction of a rammed-earth chicken house for the camp; the visiting of co-operative societies in Detroit, Chicago, and Georgia; and some one hundred seventy days spent visiting and working in co-operatives.

Other projects completed during the period of the school were a co-operative and folk-school recreational program which provided the camp with regular parties; a questionnaire for the use of all men in CPS who desired employment in co-operatives after the war; a study of methods of surveying reader interest in co-operative papers; a bibliography on various phases of the co-operative movement; and the writing and illustration of a child's fairy tale on the theme of co-operation.

Visiting speakers, many from co-operative circles, a library of literature on co-operatives, and other educational aids, including movies, were used in the work of the school.

Some insight into the spirit of the venture may be gained from the following letter, sent by a member of the school to his former camp friends:

Camp Walhalla  
Walhalla, Mich.  
April 11, 1943

Dear Lyndhursters,

Well, here I am studying Co-ops—and what an interesting study

it promises to be! At a preliminary meeting . . . it was decided to run the school on modern, progressive lines with . . . formal classes and lectures only when we have a visitor from time to time. Interest groups will meet as the need arises with or without an adviser for reading, discussions, etc. . . . There . . . is a fair collection of books, pamphlets, etc. here in the library and we tackle them individually or as groups as we like. While I am not completely sold on that method of education, it does have its points and should be an interesting experience.

The director is Dr. Morris Mitchell . . . . He is a very interesting person with a humility and simplicity which make him unique. He goes by "Morris"—not "Dr. Mitchell" (though 48 years old) as he says that a feeling of comradeship is essential. . . . He has unlimited faith in people which seems to have been proven by experience. He seems to date most of the worthwhile things of his life to the time when he became a pacifist some years ago.

Morris is assisted by Hank Dyer, former educational director of Central States Co-op in Chicago, and by Horace Reed, manager of Hyde Park Co-op near U. of Chicago before he was drafted. Both are fine fellows . . . . Another helper will be here soon who is an expert in economics and accounting. So we are blessed with an excellent and well-balanced staff.

The fellows in the institute have come here from camps all over the nation. They are high caliber, socially-minded, educated, and energetic. It is stimulating to be with them.

As far as authorities here are concerned new men may enter this institute at any time. I am sure that there are other CPSers who failed to sign up for this school because they did not understand its broad scope and therefore will wish to do so now that they know that it deals with co-operative living rather than with any one type of co-ops such as grocery stores. . . . The individual nature of the work makes it relatively easy for one to fit into the course at any time.

When it became apparent that I could not count on any more socially useful work in the near future for sure and this school gave promise of being really helpful in preparing me for relief work in CPS and for a better way of life from now on I decided it would be



best to come here though I hated to leave Lyndhurst . . . when there were so many things of interest there.

Best wishes to all.

Sincerely,

Mac (G. McNeil).<sup>29</sup>

School members met in June 1943 for a series of evaluation meetings. In their analysis of the achievements of the school, the men expressed enthusiasm for several aspects of the program. They felt that the common sense of group interest and group unity formed a stimulating environment for study and thought. Contact with national leaders of the co-operative movement, as well as growth through individual study, led to an increased sense of direction. The group also felt that participation in a program of functional education helped develop an understanding of the way in which co-operative principles can be applied to many areas of living, as well as the field of business. Several concerns were expressed by the school. Some of the members felt that a portion of the material should have been presented by the lecture method, because of time lost searching for material. School members agreed that fatigue at the end of a day of physical labor handicapped them considerably. The men also felt that there had not been enough time for leadership planning and that the most serious and inescapable problem of the school was that their work was not related to their study program.

In the fall of 1943, with the closing of Camp Walhalla, the school moved to Wellston. At that time many of the seasoned co-op men transferred to other projects, where they were active in forming study groups in their new

<sup>29</sup>Letter of G. McNeil to campers at Lyndhurst, April 11, 1943.

locations. The remaining nucleus of a half dozen experienced students with new draftees and transfers, mostly men with limited backgrounds in co-ops, made up the group of around twenty men who comprised the school during the second and third terms. At Wellston, there was no full-time director, and less overhead was granted for necessary school activities than at Walhalla. The divergence between the advanced students and the beginners made the organization of the school program difficult.

As described in the Wellston orientation outline, the approach remained much the same as at Walhalla—informal discussions, formation of interest groups, and one all-school meeting weekly, where the discussion was led by a member, or a panel of members, on planned topics. Outside speakers were frequent in the early weeks at Wellston but later the lack of visiting speakers became a problem. In the absence of a full-time director, the program depended on the few assignees who assumed chairmanships and acted as counselors for the new school members.

Emphases at Wellston were on the following types of activities; producers' co-op in the woodshop; active participation in the Jack Pines Co-op Store in camp; a recreational program; a rural life program for Brethren churches (co-op teams visited churches presenting aspects of co-ops particularly applicable to rural communities); individual projects; and a popular discussion group in economics which attracted nonco-op men in camp, as well as school members. After two terms at Wellston, the school was officially closed in 1945.

The influence of the School of Co-operative Living, especially of the Walhalla term, spread throughout Breth-

ren CPS. Its members maintained a wide fellowship with co-op ventures in many CPS camps, offering aid in procedures for camp stores, and encouraging CPS men to enroll in correspondence courses at special rates, which had been secured by members of the school for all CPS men. Books and pamphlets were shared with other camps. A great deal of effort was expended to contact leaders of co-operatives to explore possibilities for post-war employment of interested CPS men. As a result of these system-wide activities, many men became acquainted with the ideals of co-operative living who perhaps would otherwise have missed this opportunity.

### The School of Pacifist Living

The second specialized school developed in Brethren CPS was the School of Pacifist Living which began in late November 1943 at Cascade Locks, Oregon, and continued for six months. It was planned to meet a need expressed by assignees who felt that the courses in base camps on pacifist living were handicapped by lack of trained leadership and adequate resource materials. Mark Schrock, then director of Cascade Locks, was eager to see such a school materialize, and, with W. Harold Row, Morris Keeton, and Dan West (who became director of the school), made plans for its development. Negotiations with Selective Service on the problem of transferring applicants to the school were successful, and eventually assignees, Mennonites and Friends as well as Brethren, arrived from camps throughout CPS. From a beginning enrollment of twenty-four the number soon grew to forty members. The enrollees made a commitment of at least eight hours of their time per week above their

fifty-one hours on the work project. In common with other specialized schools, the School of Pacifist Living was financed by the Brethren Service Committee.

The school members began with a frame of reference which assumed that pacifist living means more than conscientious objection to war—that it can solve world problems. After the first weeks of discussion and exploration into the many ramifications of the subject of pacifist living, the group expressed their purposes in terms of searching for the fundamental bases of pacifism and the implications of pacifism as a way of life in all the different aspects of modern society.

Dan West was the resident director the first months of the school. During the last few weeks he returned to lead the final activities. In the early period, under West's leadership, the group searched for ways to approach the study and agreed to divide into twelve units, each concerned with a specific phase of pacifist living. Within each unit there was to be freedom for the student to follow his particular concerns. The plan provided that after research and discussion within the groups, reports would be read, or, in some cases, presented as panel discussions before the larger school group, where all would share in the combined efforts of the units. Semiweekly meetings of the total groups were clearing houses for school concerns and occasions of fellowship, mutual aid and encouragement. The director counseled individual members and participated in one unit, partially in others.

Interim reports of the twelve units varied in content and excellence but in general they included data on the area under study, plan for further research, and bibliographies. The scope of the units is indicated by a list

of the twelve study groups: (1) pacifist living in the home; (2) pacifist living outside the home in face-to-face groups; (3) pacifist living in group activities in the community; (4) economic implications of pacifist living; (5) pacifism and world problems; (6) pacifist living and education; (7) pacifist living, nonresistance, "second mile," nonviolence; (8) philosophical bases of pacifism; (9) disciplines necessary for pacifist living; (10) pacifist lessons from history; (11) relation of pacifism to government and functional democracy; (12) pacifist living and the class struggle.<sup>30</sup>

Some emphasis was placed on individual projects to balance the academic flavor of the unit work. School members converted waste fats into several hundred pounds of soap, some volunteered for work in the camp co-op store, one made trips to study conditions in prisons in the area, while others promoted a heifers-for-relief project.

The members' evaluation of the school at the close suggested that the scope of the study had perhaps been too broad—that more might have been achieved if efforts had been concentrated on a specific phase of pacifism. Dan West was convinced that "the results would have been greater if we would have taken on pacifist living in CPS as our main project and specialized on disciplines. The study of these would have developed exemplars of pacifist living."<sup>31</sup>

Projects initiated earlier in the school were continued after it was officially closed. To some extent, the Institute of Pacifist Disciplines at Wellston in December 1944

<sup>30</sup>*Newsletter*, No. 1, the School of Pacifist Living, Cascade Locks, January 1 1944, page 2 ff.

<sup>31</sup>*Members' Evaluation of the School of Pacifist Living*, April 13, 1944, page 3.

was based on the experience of the School of Pacifist Living.

### The Fine Arts Group at Waldport

An interesting venture into informal education was launched when the decision was made to locate the long-discussed fine arts school at Camp Waldport, Oregon. Waldport possessed certain advantages for such a school—an active group of participants, some physical facilities, and a liberal, nonrigid, “democratic” spirit in the camp as a whole. The opening date for the experiment was February 1944. Transfers came slowly, however, and not until May was the program well underway. The school, subject to periodical renewals as to its continuance, was not formally closed until December 1945. The Brethren Service Committee contributed materially to the budget, although several undertakings were financed from other sources.

The Fine Arts Group, actually an association of artists interested in individual and group productions in the field of literature, music, speech, dramatic arts, and related crafts, based the need for such a venture on the following premise: “It [pacifism] should prove itself not only ideologically sound, but creatively potent.”<sup>32</sup> They held:

. . . we are not propagandists. We have publicly inveighed against the concept of art-as-propaganda within the pacifist movement.<sup>33</sup>

[We] . . . need to demonstrate the particular function, and consequently the worth, of the artist to the community, to awaken the community's understanding and support.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup>*The Fine Arts at Waldport—A Venture in Creation*, June 1944, page 1.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, page 2.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*

Though it was not officially stated by the group, correspondence by members of the school reveals that the men opposed any encroachment on individual genius for commercial or utilitarian purposes.

The organization of the school was informal. William Everson, poet, was member-director. In his comments he characterized the methods pursued as "no-method." ". . . the very nature of the venture makes it hard to detail. We pursue no formalized schedule. We do not ask any given number of work hours per week of participants."<sup>35</sup> The criterion of success was to "be measured in the minds of the men who came, and perhaps in their notebooks, their sketch books, their manuscripts."<sup>36</sup>

Early activities of the group were largely in the field of literary efforts and dramatics. They dramatized sections of Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel*, Dos Passos' *USA*, and an original full-length dramatic poem, *The Masculine Dead*; performed *A Morality Play for the Leisured Class*, *Tennessee Justice* (compiled from various sources by Martin Ponch of the Fine Arts Group), and Millay's *Aria Da Capo*. Later productions were Ibsen's *Ghosts*, Shaw's *Candida*, and Chekhov's *The Sea Gull*. The group experimented in stage sets with considerable success. In details of production, such as examination of translations of plays, and costuming, the Fine Arts Group were meticulously careful to attain to the best production possible within the imposed limitations.

The theatre group presented fifteen weekly programs of play readings, using fine arts members and volunteer campers. The reading series included: selections of

<sup>35</sup>William Everson, *The Fine Arts at Waldport*, May 4, 1944, page 2 (a report).

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, page 3.



Thornton Wilder, Shaw, Shakespeare, Maxwell Anderson; and a group of Greek plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. The program folders for this series, as well as for the full-length plays, were especially attractive. The quality of the printing and mimeographing was in itself an artistic achievement.

The literary productions of the group included several collections of poems, essays, and short stories. William Everson's *War Elegies* and *Waldport Poems*, as well as Glen Coffield's *Horned Moon*, and a number of other publications were printed at Waldport and widely read by CPS men. Considerable work was done on a proposed CPS anthology, but the project was later abandoned.

As the school developed, emphasis was also placed on music. A concert series of recorded classical music, accompanied sometimes by attractive programs and comprehensive program notes, was well-received by the camp. Several violin and piano concerts by fine arts members were also presented to appreciative audiences.

Painting and sketching were likewise represented among the arts.

Throughout the period of the school several individual crafts flourished. Drawing, clay sculpture, weaving, and printing were emphasized especially. The purchase of a press by three of the members furnished a means whereby the productions of the Fine Arts Group could be printed. This venture became the Untide Press. Their artistry and craftsmanship were exceptional.

### School of Race Relations

To meet the expressed concern of men in CPS who shared a community of interest in one of the major prob-



lems of society—interracial relations—the Brethren Service Committee approved a budget for a School of Race Relations. The school, which opened in May of 1944 and closed in September, was located at Camp Kane, Pennsylvania.

The endeavor aimed to provide men with a broad background and an adequate understanding of the historical, sociological, economic, and additional factors involved in race relations. Long-term goals were centered on helping the men use effectively the knowledge gained in the communities to which they would go after CPS.

The primary qualification for entrance into the school was the willingness to give approximately eight or more hours per week to its work. Though memorandums from Elgin publicizing the school welcomed all interested men who could arrange for transportation expenses, few men transferred from other camps. This was due, in part, to the nature of some of the project work of the Forest Service at Kane. The work involved was felt by many to be closely related to war production (page 96), hence they were unwilling to accept such assignments. Most of the school group, therefore, came from assignees already at Kane, where, interestingly, Negro assignees made up about twelve per cent of the camp strength.

Dr. George R. Haynes, race relations secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, was the over-all director and consultant of the school. Cecil and Frances Thomas served as resident directors.

The school centered around weekly forum-lectures by guest speakers, often authorities in their fields. Dr. Haynes secured the lecturers. In addition to the weekly forums and the discussion sessions which followed them, small

seminar groups met to pursue special interests. Taking advantage of the library on race relations which had been assembled at Kane, men undertook individual reading programs.

The approach to organizing the school was rather formal, with the subject matter well outlined in advance by Dr. Haynes, who described the content of the seminars as follows:

Scope of Work for Seminar I: This group will study the anthropological, sociological and psychological facts about race and race groupings and the theories and myths about race that have grown up in modern times. . . . Attitudes, folkways and mores as they affect relations of racial and cultural groups will be studied.

Scope of Work for Seminar II: This study group will deal with the specific racial problems in the United States of America: in particular, Negro-white relations, American Indian-white relations, Oriental-white relations, Mexican American-white relations. The common social factors will be sought in attempts to understand the basic difficulties. Factors of land tenure and agricultural conditions, industrial employment, health and housing, education, civic and political opportunities, artistic, musical, literary and dramatic contributions, family organization and religion will be explored. The role of government in race adjustment . . . .<sup>37</sup>

The specific topics were handled by resource people who spoke at the weekly forums. These were attended by an average of about thirty men. A group of fifteen men put in more than eight hours per week of additional study while others participated in varying degrees.

One evidence of a desire to implement knowledge gained in the school was the three weeks' interracial camp sponsored by men of the school and other campers. Eighteen boys were given the opportunity to gain experience

<sup>37</sup>Letter of Dr. George E. Haynes, April 19, 1944.

in interracial group living at the camp, and to receive counsel there.

The general director and the resident directors recommended at the close of the school that future schools in race relations in CPS feature the "forum type of program and a few projects running for four to six weeks' periods with sessions about three nights a week . . . ." <sup>38</sup> However, the question was raised by Morris Keeton, national education secretary, in some observations based on the Kane race relations school, as to whether the forum-centered school was the most desirable approach for CPS men. Keeton pointed out: "Other specialized schools in which counseling has preceded both action and study, and in which concern was centered not on subject matter but on individual desires and needs, have created more dynamic and sustained development of personality." <sup>39</sup>

### School of Foods Management

The School of Foods Management was established in April 1943 at Camp Lyndhurst. It occupied the full time of twenty trainees, from camps throughout the United States, for three months.

A description of the aims of the school states:

The . . . Cooking School has a five-fold purpose. It is set up to *prepare enrollees to serve more efficiently in managerial and skilled assignments in C.P.S. camp kitchens. . . . the school will fit enrollees to be of more service as dieticians' assistants and cooks in hospitals and institutions. . . .* A third aim is to *give enrollees some training in establishing and operating mobile disaster unit feeding*

<sup>38</sup>Dr. George E. Haynes, Cecil Thomas, and Frances Thomas, *Recommendations Based Upon the Experience in Conducting the School of Race Relations*, Kane, page 2. (Undated.)

<sup>39</sup>Observations by Keeton, attached to the *Recommendation Based Upon . . . School of Race Relations*, page 2.

*stations. The school will give the enrollees opportunity to learn the philosophy and historical experience of reconstruction feeding and seek to prepare them to be of value in this field. Finally it will prepare enrollees to be of more service . . . wherever the post-war world may find them.*<sup>40</sup>

Mrs. J. L. Spaulding, a graduate of the Iowa State College and an experienced worker in the Iowa Extension Service, was the director. Mrs. Bertha Frantz Kimmel assisted.

The "course of study was worked out cooperatively by the enrollees of the Cooking School. They first listed problems which they had met and topics about which they wanted to learn. Then as a group they organized the material . . . ." <sup>41</sup> The curriculum planning resulted in a course which combined practical experience and theoretical instruction. The course included: fundamentals of nutrition; cookery principles and techniques; large-quantity cookery and its problems; care and preservation of food; food purchasing, procurement, and cost control; cost accounting and kitchen records; kitchen and dining room management; special problems; and orientation to problems of reconstruction.

There were opportunities for learning through regular classes (fifty-eight sessions), laboratory experience (the school served the Lyndhurst assignees), a special library, pooling of enrollee experience, visual aids (seven films, posters, charts), outside speakers and demonstrators, individual and group projects, and exhibits and illustrative material.

After the success of the first cooking school, similar projects were held at Magnolia in late 1943 and at New

<sup>40</sup>Report of Mrs. J. L. Spaulding, July 1, 1943, page 6.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, page 2.

Windsor in 1945. The same directors supervised all three schools.

### *Observations on Special Schools*

The most common charges voiced against the special schools by nonschool groups in the same camps were that the members did not always devote the required eight hours per week to their study program, that they took undue overhead, and that the regular education program of the camp suffered when energies were centered on the specialized training.

The School of Co-operative Living antagonized some nonschool campers because of their identification with "socialist" thought.

At Waldport, as at Wellston, some cleavages between the groups—school and nonschool—occurred. With the Fine Arts Group much of the trouble involved a situation where the artists worked on overhead jobs, particularly in the camp kitchen, for the sake of convenience, rather than because of any personal interest in the assignment. Their indifference in the fulfillment of these functions was resented by other campers. However, in September 1944, the educational secretary at Waldport wrote of this situation: "So far as I know, there is no Fine Arts bloc, altho various individuals are particularly articulate, and no doubt get thot of as representing 'the artist's' point of view."<sup>42</sup>

There is no evidence of any appreciable criticism of the other specialized schools.

<sup>42</sup>Letter of Robert Stevens, educational secretary, to Keeton, September 27, 1944. The fine arts members, as well as those of the co-operative school, were sometimes designated as a rather powerful minority "pressuring" for their particular interests.

The achievements of the specialized schools were outstanding in Brethren base-camp education. They were marked by well-defined goals, sustained interest, integration of purpose, and growth in knowledge and skills.

### *Informal Activity*

Many experiences in camp life were educative and of significance in the development of the individual assignees, and yet were of such an informal nature that there is danger of overlooking their contribution to the total experience of the men. Among these were the use of the library and movies, individual or group projects related to social action, and the impact of the total base-camp experience on the individual camper.

In each camp there was a rather well-stocked library through which the conscientious objectors could pursue diverse programs of reading and study. While exact statistics are not available, an offhand summary of the base-camp library holdings in May 1944 listed three thousand volumes at Cascade Locks, one thousand seven hundred thirty-six at Belden, one thousand seven hundred at Kanc, one thousand eight hundred to two thousand at Bedford, and over two thousand at Wellston.<sup>43</sup> Although there was variation among the several camps, good reports of library use were noted from most, except those with a large percentage of very conservative groups. Creative use of display materials such as art exhibits, posters, campers' photography, project information, and craft products often added to the attractiveness of the libraries. Some indication of reading interests is included in the following library reports of Waldport, Santa Barbara and Walhalla:

<sup>43</sup>Notes on the educational secretaries' conference, May 8-13, 1944, page 8.

There seems to be a more active interest in reading at Waldport than at the typical CPS camp. We have a very live account with the Oregon State Library, usually borrowing about 15 or so books a month, conservatively estimated, and it has been much higher during the past two months. . . . We have the following Modern Library editions on order: Yutang, *Wisdom of Confucius*; Dostoyevski, *Crime and Punishment*; Hemingway, *Short Stories of*; Faulkner, *Sanctuary*; Gide, *Counterfeiters*; Lawrence, *Women in Love*; Maugham, *Of Human Bondage*. We have also ordered the following books: Ballou, *World Bible*; Howard, *America's Role in Asia*; Lewis, *Screwtape Letters*; Lee, *Language Habits in Human Affairs*; Korzybski, *Science and Sanity*; Hayakawa, *Language in Action*; Kallen, *Art and Freedom*; Kagawa, *Brotherhood Economics*; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*; Mumford, *The Condition of Man*; Voorhis, *Beyond Victory*; McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin*; Goodspeed and Smith, *The Holy Bible*; Moffatt, *The New Testament*; Pacifica Associates; *Pacifica Studies, I and II*. . . . We list these, because there was considerable discussion of these purchases when they were made, and the results provide an index of campers' reading interests.<sup>44</sup>

The recorded circulation of books from the Los Prietos [Santa Barbara] Camp Library was 86 in August as compared with 52 in July. This figure includes those books borrowed from the library during the stated circulation hours (which, we hope, includes all the books borrowed from the library). The total is composed of books placed in the library by campers, books in the Santa Barbara loan collection, and special loans from the Santa Barbara Library. A breakdown of the circulation shows that the following types of books were withdrawn: 28 books of fiction, 8 works on philosophy, 12 books of a religious nature, 11 treatises on social problems, 2 volumes about natural science, 5 books on useful arts, 17 books on painting and the fine arts, and 3 magazines on special loan.<sup>45</sup>

The camp library has grown slowly but surely since the initial opening of the camp last May. There were scarcely a dozen books

<sup>44</sup>Educational report, Waldport, June-July 1944, page 4.

<sup>45</sup>J. Nathan Gilbert, *Report on Camp Activities, Santa Barbara, August 1942*, page 2.



to start with, but now our library has grown to over 1,500 volumes. Many of the books have been loaned to us by the Mason County Library and the Michigan State Library. Likewise many campers have loaned their books for use during their stay in camp. For these loans we are grateful, since our funds for the purchase of new books are limited.

The magazines that are offered for the reader's consumption in our library are: Gospel Messenger, Christian Century, Christian Herald, Fellowship, The American Friend, Gospel Banner, Motive, Bible Advocate, The Michigan Christian Advocate, The Sunday School Times, Our Young People, Catholic Worker, The Gospel Way, The Conscientious Objector, The Call, Time, Common Sense, Survey Graphic, Nation, United States News, Reader's Digest, Negro Digest, Life, National Geographic, Harpers, Hygeia, Current History, and Popular Mechanics.<sup>46</sup>

Moving pictures as an educational aid proved to be quite successful. They were shown twice a month in some camps; less often in others. Movie fare included: regular feature films, either of the entertainment type or of social-moralistic drama; educational shorts (vocational, industrial, war propaganda, travelogues), and purely religious pictures such as *The Great Commandment* and *Journey to Jerusalem*. Film evaluations from the camps indicate that the men responded enthusiastically to dramas depicting social problems, such as *Grapes of Wrath*. On the whole they also liked "escape" entertainment, though some units criticized extreme slapstick comedy. Religious pictures and educational films, if of high calibre, were favorably received.

Late in base-camp life there was considerable education through individual and group action on projects of social significance. Relief for war-stricken peoples and

<sup>46</sup>Vernon H. Stinebaugh, *A Report of the Educational Program and Various Interest Groups, Walhalla*, January 1943, page 1.



anticonscription activity occupied the time and interest of many of the assignees. The following description of this kind of educational endeavor is typical of similar activities in most of the base camps (and special projects) in 1945-1946, although in this instance the promotion and the program were better organized than in most other units.

### 1. Relief to Europe

Getting more relief supplies to Europe has been one of the principal group concerns at Cascade Locks during the November-December period. James Winker, Dick Tuttle, and Arthur Danforth have been especially active in planning a campaign to get more people to help in the relief work. A comprehensive four page folder describing relief needs and opportunities for helping . . . illustrated by Bill Phillips is now on the presses. Five thousand copies will be made on the first run. Previous to this, about 300 copies of a mimeographed letter urging food and clothing contributions for relief had been distributed by men in camp. Money for the printing is being raised from friends in the Northwest and by a contribution from the recently closed Cooperative store.

Meanwhile Lyle Jones and Don Smith organized a campaign within the camp to raise money to send individual food packages to Europe. Men are contributing from their monthly allowances. Additional money was raised through the sale of Christmas cards. Two packages are being sent to families in France each week.<sup>47</sup>

### 2. Opposition to Conscription

Leaflets, flyers, posters, and assorted literature continue to pour forth from the efforts of a group opposing conscription. Since the beginning of the present campaign 10,000 flyers have been printed, 8,500 of which have been distributed. . . . Nearly 300 letters and over 200 post cards have been written to congressmen, public figures and friends. The quantity of other small leaflets sent out is not known. The distribution of the large poster has now begun. 1500 of the first 3000 are already out. The special campaign bulletin

<sup>47</sup>The number of packages was increased later.

board has been well kept. Especially readable and motivating is a short summary of the latest developments that is posted three times a week.<sup>48</sup>

There was also great opportunity for growth in many of the day-to-day experiences which came from living together in camp. After several years of CPS life, assignees tended to develop powers of critical analysis, and to look beyond superficialities. This intellectual probing was a significant aspect of growth. Likewise the opportunity for learning that comes from close observation of the inevitable conflicts of personalities in such intimate contact was part of the assignee's environment; as was the sharing, through the camp government, of the problems of the community.

Opportunities for mutual interstimulation were provided by the mixing together of diverse types in the daily routine of camp life. Even when the assignee only listened to discussions, he could not avoid a learning experience. All sorts of discussions, many quite weighty, were carried on while the men were shoveling dirt, planting trees, or traveling the miles to and from work. Geology, the nature of God, academic freedom, the stroke of pistons in Farmall tractors, how Standard Oil advertises in local papers, and many more subjects were likely to be covered in a week.

An observer who visited the camps in 1944 and again in the fall of 1945 commented on the kind of education that came through participation in the total camp life.

. . . stereotypes of all sorts had worn thin . . . . Much vague idealism and romanticism, I felt, has been cut away by the two or three years' experience in C.P.S.'s hard school. . . . One has to take

<sup>48</sup>Educational report, Cascade Locks, November-December 1945, page 2 ff.

a little something of what the men have taken to come into touch with the stuff underneath. I had no doubt of its good quality.<sup>49</sup>

Through many channels of camp life came occasions for growth in social awareness and an increased sensitivity to social and economic problems. Examples of these innumerable and often subconscious perceptions are reported from Camp Kane.

There was a ripple of excitement when we first received Negro enrollees. But the fact that these Negroes have won their way into the hearts of all is worth more than hours and hours of formal discussion and bull sessions about how to overcome the evils of race discrimination.

Similarly with the presence of parolees in camp. In this case they were of different convictions from the rank and file of the camp; had different views about government, religion, and the like. Living together has been of great educational value.<sup>50</sup>

Although the opportunities present for growth through the simple processes of daily living were many, they were also hard to grasp. Side by side with the many advantages offered by the unique environment of the conscientious objector communities were a series of concomitant disadvantages. Isolated, laboring without pay, desiring a more significant human service, and witnessing the abandonment of humane concepts by the nations at war, many assignees became depressed in spirit to the point where they were unable to utilize to the full their possibilities for growth. For those able to overcome such obstacles, the period in camp was more full and rich. For those who were not, the experience was comparatively empty.

<sup>49</sup>Letter of Dr. Ferner Nuhn to A. J. Muste, Ercell Lynn and Ken Morgan, November 14, 1945, page 4.

<sup>50</sup>From a BCPS education bulletin, *Bulletin on Non-Formal Education*, May 25, 1943, page 6.

**Table 8A**

**An Analysis of Obstacles and Success Factors in  
Brethren CPS Education<sup>51</sup>**

*Obstacles*

- A) Lack of time (long work hours, pressure of other responsibilities)
- B) Exhaustion, tiredness (different forms from manual labor, guinea pig service, mental hospital assignments, etc.)
- C) Interruptions by transfers, shifts to side camps, fire fighting calls, etc.
- D) Differences of work shift, different days off, related schedule factors
- E) Lack of, or unavailability of, needed physical facilities
- F) Limitation of funds
- G) Administrative obstacles (delays and indecision in policy formation, in coordination among units and agencies, in arrangements with Selective Service and the like)
- H) Limitations on leadership and administrative personnel permitted and on time allotted for their work
- I) Psychological conditions unfitting men for desired educational activities: sense of frustration (lack of use of abilities, inadequate service of ideals, dissatisfaction with immediately evident results, lack of understanding of the value of work done, interruption of conventional living patterns, apparent hopelessness of cause against overwhelming odds, etc.); apathy; inability to get perspective on personal relation to events of the contemporary world; oversensitivity to weaknesses in self and group (desire to show courage, good sense, and social adjustment in the face of social pressure); related psychological conditions
- J) Distractions through less important interests in surrounding communities (especially after transfer from an isolated camp)
- K) Distractions through other educational, recreational, or administrative activities in camp, notably preoccupation with administrative policies and practices
- L) Need to use leisure to make money for necessities

<sup>51</sup>From a BCPS education bulletin, Morris Keeton, *BCPS Education: Formal or Informal*, August 15, 1944, page 2 ff.

- M) Preoccupation with dependency problems, family troubles, and the like
- N) Preoccupation with indecision about whether to go to army, prison, or other CPS work
- O) Differences in ability among us
- P) Differences in our educational background
- Q) Differences in our ethical, religious, social, economic heritages
- R) Differences in interest (sometimes called "lack of interest")
- S) Lack of satisfactory goals held in common with others; or lack of clear personal goals
- T) Isolation from, or lack of, library, resource leaders, and similar helps
- U) Lack of privacy, quiet, and related conditions for study and thinking

**Table 8B**

**An Analysis of Obstacles and Success Factors in  
Brethren CPS Education**

*Success Factors*

The factors which appear to have contributed the measure of success realized in these experiments are here listed, with references to the obstacles which they most directly met. None of the experiments embodied all of these provisions in the optimum measure.

- 1) Special leadership (director, visiting speakers, artists, practitioners, demonstrators, enrollee leaders) (H,T)
- 2) Special budget for audio-visual materials, speakers, director, field trips, working materials or tools, library (E,F,T)
- 3) Overhead time for learners' use or assignment to full-time training for a specified period (A,B,C,D,H)
- 4) Encouragement for each individual to define long-run purposes which he aims to serve in this educational opportunity; help for men to discover their own lasting interests rather than effort to "create" or "produce" interest (O,P,Q,R,S)
- 5) Help in defining more immediate goals as individual feels need and in such form as to help him help himself (goals for duration of a training period, for next month, for next two weeks); help in planning these immediate goals to serve the long-run pur-

- poses already mentioned; help in defining one's aims tangibly (I,J,K,R,S)
- 6) Relevance of these long and short-run purposes, both in group and individual plans, to felt problems of the men (whether shortsighted, visionary, or wise), problems big enough for a man to lose himself in a greater work than mere preparations to earn a living. Contrast with the aim regrettably expressed by some educational directors a year ago; "to keep the men busy, occupied," "to keep their minds off of other things," "to pass the time more pleasantly," "to divert them" (S)
  - 7) Assistance in self-discipline to integrate all of individual's activities (including project work where possible) around these goals, thus putting first things first in everyday decisions as to use of time, energy, money, talent (J,K,N)
  - 8) Sharing of work and purposes with like-minded friends; enrichment of achievement with diversity of contributions and the feeling of being part of a larger supporting group (achieved in part by transfers) (D,C,N,O,P,R,S)
  - 9) Provision of means to measure accomplishment, thus helping individuals who progress actually to feel it (I)
  - 10) Provision for growth or change in both basic and immediate ideals and plans (I,S)
  - 11) Provision for action upon ideas as a part of the process of learning (projects, living together in an intimate community) (I,J,N,S,U)
  - 12) Provision for artistic and religious expression (dramatization, recreation, worship) of dedication of purpose, achievement in it, and resolve in the face of obstacles (I,J,K,N,O,P,Q,R,S)

### RECREATION IN THE BASE CAMPS

The hours in camp that were not absorbed by daily manual labor, and the offerings of the educational program were often expended in camp recreational activities. Group élan was strengthened by experiences which grew out of the need of the men to relax and to enjoy fellowship with each other.

The initiative in planning recreation was usually taken by a camper committee, which at times worked with the educational director in co-ordinating the total leisure-time program. In response to the interests of the men, in the summer months, it was common for the educational program to give way to a stronger emphasis on recreation.

Outdoor sports such as basketball, softball, football, volleyball and tennis were popular ways of using leisure time. Competitive contests featuring a series of games among teams—overhead vs. project, barrack vs. barrack, camp vs. visitors—offered healthful outdoor exercise and opportunities for the sublimation of frustrations. Swimming in the summer months was frequently available, for the camps were usually located near rivers, lakes, or the ocean. Ping-pong, billiards, chess, checkers, and table games were favorite indoor recreation.

Music played a vital role in the lives of some of the men in base camp. Often the musical activities included such groups as the camp chorus, quartets, an orchestra, and hymn-singing groups in addition to classes in music appreciation. Records, classical and popular, were played in a record concert series with interpolations by assignees or were enjoyed informally when groups met in dormitories or in the camp lounge. Concerts and musical programs of merit were given in various camps by both talented assignees and visiting artists.

Play readings were enjoyed by small groups rather regularly. Typical selections were from Shaw, Shakespeare, and Wilder. The usual procedure was to post an announcement inviting all to participate. The half dozen or dozen interested campers met in a dormitory

or out of doors near a river or a lake and read there. Original plays were sometimes enacted at camp programs, but not frequently.

The craft program, which included woodwork, rug making, ceramics, loom weaving, leatherwork, block printing, photography, and similar handwork, was an important part of the recreation of many campers. Production of gifts for families or friends, or work on other projects provided an outlet for the creativity of the men. Sometimes, however, as at Wellston in 1944, the crafts were a commercial group venture.

The shop is in night and day production of toys. Several projects are under way. The largest order has been for . . . 2400 toy tractors. Salt shakers, doll buggies, toy wagons, and breadboards are under construction. . . . The problems of setting up a production line, of engaging the proper number of producers, of setting their hours, and arranging for the equipment have been interesting.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the entrepreneurs, the "social philosophers" of CPS could often be found near the molds and lathes.

Our crafts room has been the birthplace of various activities such as modeling (clay, plaster), wood carving, silk screen work, molding and casting. It has become a social rendezvous as well. The Royal Order of the Descendants of The Mole, The Midnight Coffee Club, The Ultra-Liberals . . . alias as you please, group meets there . . . .<sup>53</sup>

Many leisure-time hours in camp were also spent in informal and unorganized recreational activities. Sessions of this type at Wellston were described in a recreation report. "Three of the four dorms are now provided

<sup>52</sup>Jim Carlson, educational report, Wellston, September-October 1944, page 2.

<sup>53</sup>Educational report, Waldport, July-August 1943, page 3.



with pop corn poppers and all have coffee making equipment. Good or bad, coffee and pop corn parties are in progress almost every night in at least one of the dorms.”<sup>54</sup> The barracks were usually heated in the winter months by old-fashioned round cast-iron stoves which glowed when they were stuffed full of lengths of pine. This was a favorite gathering place for the “bull sessions.” A pot of black coffee simmering near the stove chimney helped melt the barriers that often prevented free discussion in the more formal groups. Sometimes the repast was augmented by boxes of cookies from home or from women’s church groups, or from illicit gleaning from the camp kitchen and bakery.

Routine in base camp was enlivened from time to time by parties, stunt nights, folk dancing, silent comedy movies, “amateur hours,” evenings of Paul Bunyan tales, holiday festivities and celebrations of special events, such as the opening and closing of camps, anniversaries, and monthly birthday dinners for campers. Sometimes the events were planned in detail by the camp recreation committee and interested helpers; at other times the presence of a visiting speaker, particularly well received, might be the motivation for a spontaneous party. Such diversions were not frequent, however.

Participation by the assignees in the recreational life of camp varied. Generally a small group made full use of the various facilities and opportunities present. On the other hand, another group, likewise small, abstained from such activities. In between was the larger number whose thoughts and energies turned to recreation from time to time in somewhat irregular fashion—now enthusi-

<sup>54</sup>Educational report, Wellston, July-August, 1943, page 10.

astically engaged in some activity, and again preoccupied with the duties and problems of life in CPS.

#### RELIGIOUS EMPHASES IN THE CAMPS

Since one of the strongest motivations for peace-church sponsorship of CPS was the opportunity afforded to aid men dedicated to a positive Christian life, a vital concern of the program was the spiritual emphasis within camp. The Elgin administration, the local directors, and competent visiting counselors, as well as many campers devoted much time and energy to the program. They hoped to develop a unique and exemplary religious life within the conscientious objector communities. However, the obstacles to such an undertaking were formidable. They included the fact of conscription itself, the variety of religious affiliations, the complete divergence of ideologies, and the transfer from base camps to special projects of many of the ablest leaders. These and other factors confronted those who sought to nurture a religious viewpoint. The program of activities emerging from this situation reflected both positive and negative aspects.

Observers frequently pointed out the differences in ideologies among campers. In 1943, after traveling seven thousand miles to visit Brethren CPS camps, C. Ray Keim wrote:

The religious situation is hard to gauge. In some camps there are very devout men who take little interest in a camp religious program. Some of the men are not interested in any religious activity. . . . There is a decided lack of religious unity in the camps. It is difficult to maintain a Brethren philosophy, atmosphere, and program with the personnel of the campers as it is.

These men lack unity, furthermore, because of a divergence of social, educational, and philosophical background. . . . Many men

are essentially philosophical objectors rather than religious. This is true of many who belong to a church and are classed as religious.

I met several exceedingly fine men—men who are getting a discipline which will make leaders of them after the war is over. Some are having a great religious experience and will be transformed into dynamic Christian men.<sup>55</sup>

The differences in background and belief, although obstacles to group unity, also presented opportunities for enriching camp experience. Some of these advantages were pointed out by one of the Marienville campers, Ercell Lynn.

The pooling of religious thought has caused men to rethink their beliefs and church teachings, see them in . . . perspective, sift, re-adjust, and emerge with convictions which contribute to more effective living both personally and for the community. Whether or not we feel that CPS is a step in the direction of an ecumenical church, or whether such is even desirable, it remains that when a score of different denominations are represented in any given camp, the men representing these groups cannot live, work, and play together without having a greater appreciation of the other's view, greater understanding, and added tolerance. Bull sessions—while at work on the project or in camp—class discussion, and personal study regarding differences of belief and teaching have caused many a camper to rethink what has been accepted heretofore by him without much question as to its truth or personal application to his life. This rethinking either has strengthened him in his position or caused him to seek one which can more adequately serve him as a way of life.<sup>56</sup>

The core of the organized camp program included Sunday services, Sunday school, midweek services, daily devotions, grace at meals, and vespers. Courses in Bible were offered in every camp, as well as other types of religious education classes, such as church history, religious

<sup>55</sup>Letter of C. Ray Keim to W. Harold Row, August 25, 1943, page 2.

<sup>56</sup>Ercell V. Lynn, *The Part Religion Plays in CPS Life* (a short essay), page 2.

beliefs, study courses in worship, Christian education, Christian community, and similar subjects. Leadership in the program was usually shared by the campers and the staff, with a religious-life or worship committee active as the co-ordinating body.

The Sunday morning services, usually an hour in length, with hymn singing, Scripture reading, and sermon, were conducted by the camp director, campers, or visiting ministers. They were formal and traditional in pattern. Parallel with the all-camp service, small groups of men worshiped separately. These usually were of the Jehovah's Witness, Christadelphian, and similar sects.

The Sunday evening services varied considerably. Sometimes the service would be an informal evening of hymn singing, vespers held out of doors by a river or on a hillside, a panel discussion by campers on the role of the church and the individual's responsibility, or short talks by campers. As the need for reaching the group to whom the formal Sunday services did not appeal became evident, a Sunday service of a more informal type was tried by some camps. In these experiments, records of religious and classical music often provided the background for readings from the scriptures of many faiths, and also for nonscriptural religious readings. Visual aids were utilized, though not frequently, with large religious pictures, slides, and movies.

Other types of activities contributed to the spiritual atmosphere. In camps which were composed largely of the conservative religious element, well-attended and frequent prayer meetings were held. Some camps had daily Scripture readings before breakfast, "quiet times" of meditation and silence in the barracks (in the early

days of BCPS), but, later, usually in the chapel room where men could enter and worship, and leave at will. When the camp had a strong "liberal" element, the religious activities tended to be intellectual in character, with emphasis on panels and the comparative study of religious beliefs.

Tangent to the organized religious services, but significant, were the small cell groups who met for meditation and prayer, sometimes for discussion, in the early morning or late evening. The relatively few participants in these less orthodox forms of worship seemed unusually faithful in attendance. The time span of such groups was usually short, but they appeared at intervals in base camps.

At many locations the campers were able to attend services in the churches of near-by communities. In the more cordial congregations they found opportunity to participate in several different activities, such as assisting in the Sunday-school classes, joining the choirs or other musical groups, and helping with recreational programs as well as other church functions.

Camp groups also participated in a variety of community service projects. Many units sent deputation teams to churches where campers discussed Christian pacifism and participated in musical programs. Sporadic efforts were made to promote better conditions in the communities near the camps, by assisting with recreational programs, by helping in church buildings, or by aiding victims of misfortune. Camp Lagro presented the Wabash County Hospital with a combined resuscitator and inhalator. The money for the purchase, \$260.00, was taken from a fund earned by assignees who had worked on

neighboring farms during their off-duty hours. Some camps stressed relief projects such as raising heifers, as at Marienville, sending packages of food and clothing abroad, as at Cascade Locks, or giving money for relief. At Wellston, where subsistence meals or fasts were held each week over a period of several months, "the proceeds . . . [went] to War Prisoners, Refugee Aid, The Tornado Victims at Magnolia . . . the National Sharecropper Fund . . . ."57

Attempts were also made by religious-life interest groups to work with the personnel directors in some camps to seek out and to offer counsel and guidance to the men who had religious or personal problems.

One of the outstanding features of the BCPS religious-life program was planning which stressed interdenominational understanding. Base camps frequently reported a series of "My Credo" programs, or similar discussions, wherein various groups presented their faiths. The Sunday services were often planned to recognize several types of religious affiliation, with different groups in charge of the several phases of the worship. Panel discussions were held in which an effort was made to invite the exchange of various points of view. Educational and religious directors in base camps reported a favorable response to this type of approach.

Visiting speakers frequently remarked on the religious tolerance of the men. Typical of reports was the following comment: "There is much difference of opinion regarding theological and philosophical ideologies, openly and freely expressed on all occasions. Some of the

<sup>57</sup>Jim Carlson, educational report, Wellston, March-April 1944, page 3.

spokesmen are long-winded, too. But a rare spirit of tolerance prevails."<sup>58</sup>

Another analysis is enlightening.

Every denomination conceivable is represented in these camps, and even some of which many people probably never have conceived at all. The general tendency has been for those of more conservative statements of faith to frequent the religious services and for those of more modernistic conception of religion to congregate at the discussion groups. Various attempts have been made and are being made to bridge this gulf, without asking any man to "soft pedal" his particular articles of faith. Several times I heard the remark that on the whole the conservatives have been more successful in becoming tolerant toward and understanding of those convictions differing widely from their own, than the modernists. Some in both groups are becoming truly liberal. Where every one, of any shade of theology, has consented to take his turn in asking a blessing at meal time, or conducting the "quiet hour," this has aided in drawing the group together in mutual appreciation and respect.<sup>59</sup>

The degree of camper participation in developing the religious life of the group and the status of the program at any one time is somewhat obscure. The successes and failures of the religious programs were affected by the complex interrelations involved in the state of morale, the general camp atmosphere, the duration of Brethren CPS, individual psychological conflicts, and other factors. Moreover, the nature of religious experiences makes their measurement difficult. Sources indicate only that, in general, attendance seemed to diminish as the years passed; and unless the camp happened to have a very conservative religious group in the majority, the percentage of men actively participating was low. As the men became increasingly disaffected with the CPS experience, their

<sup>58</sup>Report of Theodore D. Walser, a camp visitor, June 28, 1943, page 4.

<sup>59</sup>Report of Alexander D. Dodd, a camp visitor, March 15, 1944, page 4.



allegiance to the religious program lessened noticeably.

Brethren leaders initiated several measures to encourage the development of a stronger religious spirit as the decline in interest became more apparent. Efforts were made to secure part-time pastors for the camps, and several church leaders were asked to visit the units and to live with the men for extended periods of time. These efforts, however, were only partially successful. In addition, religious-life secretaries in camp were allotted more time to work on their programs and Selective Service approval was secured for the transfer to the national office of an assignee whose full time might be spent in promoting religious growth.

In considering the religious developments in the Brethren base camps, it is clear that the aims of the program were not attained to the degree which the leaders had hoped. This seemed especially true in regard to participation in group services of a more conventional type. Some visitors to camps during the later years of Brethren CPS reported that they were disillusioned and discouraged by evidence that a number of the assignees had deteriorated under the compulsive features of the CPS experience. They felt that the spiritual resources of the men and the program were proving inadequate to overcome the obstacles encountered. On the other hand, there were many positive developments within the camp communities. The very presence of the men in camp was (with some exceptions) indicative of moral resolution. Other observers of BCPS camp life spoke of a significant type of growth on the part of the men. Dr. Ferner Nuhn, in November 1945, after visiting several base camps and spending an average of five days in each camp, reported:



. . . I found no lack of interest really in social and intellectual and religious matters. Rather it seemed to me that there was a deeper interest than ever [Dr. Nuhn had visited camps previously in 1944] in getting at the heart of personal and social questions facing people in the present world. Once external trappings had been cut away, the men showed how much thinking they had been doing about the most basic things—frequently about inner religion, and about what they wanted to do after release.<sup>60</sup>

Morris Keeton, in 1945, in a similar vein expressed the belief that “in CPS we have a general decline of faith and interest in the kind of services in which churches often center their efforts, but at the same time we have a profound upsurge of respect for earnest, consistent living in devotion to high ideals.”<sup>61</sup>

### *Camp Atmosphere*

Informality was the keynote of Brethren CPS camp life. The lack of convention was evident particularly in manners and dress. Since many of the men found it difficult to make the \$2.50 monthly allowance cover purchases of clothing, some assignees wore garments which were sent to the camps by church groups. Almost all campers continued to wear clothing which ordinarily would have been discarded. The weekday dress often included a faded shirt, worn trousers and a sweater, heavy work shoes or battered moccasins, and in the winter a bulky coat or jacket. On Sundays, however, the men often appeared in suits, white shirts, and ties.

Project work took its toll of socks; so it was not uncommon to see men at lectures or camp community meetings laboriously darning, or mending other clothing.

<sup>60</sup>Letter of Nuhn to A. J. Muste, November 14, 1945, page 4.

<sup>61</sup>Report of Keeton, July 6, 1945, page 11.

Sometimes this work was done by Brethren women from near-by churches on visits to camps.

The geographic isolation of the camps lent an importance to visits from the outside world. Parents, wives and children, and friends came at intervals, bringing with them the home atmosphere which the assignees missed. On these occasions there was an added stir in the dining hall, where interest would be centered on the visitors. The guests sometimes brought gifts of food such as ice cream for the entire camp or a bushel of fresh sweet corn, which added a welcome touch to the menus.

In some instances, the wives and children of married assignees lived in tents, cabins, or houses adjacent to the camps. The wives often participated in the group activities, particularly recreational events and religious services. At times, such family groups took some of their meals in the camp dining hall.

Food in the Brethren CPS camps was plentiful and tasteful. It was not unusual for visitors to report the food as better than they themselves could afford. At times, however, as inexperienced or disinterested campers worked in the kitchen, the best use was not always made of the available foodstuffs. The meals were served on wooden tables with planks for seats. The dining hall was usually a long room with exposed rafters overhead, and rough pine walls. A large stove in one end of the room heated the dining area. Frequently the campers came to the dining hall early and talked as they stood near the stove or close by the serving table. Education directors who observed the men lingering after the meals also, placed books and magazines near the dining tables to encourage reading. Another time at which groups of campers could

be found in the dining hall was the hour of 10:00 or 10:30 p.m. After a period of writing letters, reading, attending classes, or talking, the men would drift toward the kitchen, where they would find cereal bowls and pitchers of milk set out, and sometimes fruit or left-over pastries and breads. Here the men would speculate on the next day's weather (if it rained, the men did not go out on the project, though exceptions were Camps Waldport and Cascade Locks, where rain was so frequent that project work continued in spite of it), talk over books, speakers, or the latest news of the "CPS grapevine."

On holidays or birthday nights at camp, the dining hall underwent a transformation. The rough tables were covered with white sheets, the woodshop supplied hand-made candle holders, and flowers and greenery were arranged on the tables and at other places. On these occasions, more formality was in evidence. The usual metallic clatter of businesslike eating was softened and social conversation prolonged the meal. The cooks could be seen surveying with pride the well-set tables. After the dinner was served, a program with the director or an assignee as master of ceremonies would introduce camper talent, or the group would enjoy singing together. If the holiday were Christmas, there were often gifts for the men from church groups, with the usual careful trading following the distribution.

During project hours, there were few men about the camp grounds. Overhead men, however, could be seen at their chores, working about the kitchen preparing food or washing dishes, piling wood outside the laundry doors, whence steam issued steadily, loading the truck with debris and garbage to be hauled away, caring for the

lawns, repairing wiring or roofs, or painting buildings. In the camp offices, typewriters were busy. The men worked on records, reports, and correspondence. Calls to the technical agency were made and work lists were checked. The complications of transfer, furlough, and release had to be cleared.

In the midst of this activity, there were also the idle. The chronic "S.Q." (sick quarters) loafed in the barracks or around the grounds. Sometimes they sat and watched the nondescript dogs which had strayed to the camps and had found good food and companions.

After the trucks had come in from the project and showers were over and the mail read, the campers walked toward the dining hall. In the warmer months, they sat in groups on the steps of the near-by dormitories or stood around the bulletin board.

The bulletin board was a link with the world outside. There were tacked the memorandums, multicolored, lengthy, and frequent, from the Elgin office. Those bulletins discussed the most recent developments throughout Brethren CPS, problems of project work, educational activities, national legislation affecting C.O.'s and innumerable other items. Clippings from local or city newspapers concerning public relations were often on the board. Announcements of coming events, such as lectures, a religious institute, a round-table discussion, the Sunday morning church service, a build-up for a visiting speaker, the scheduling of classes, jackets and reviews of new books in the library—these could all be found. Sometimes there was a card from a fellow camper on furlough or on a new assignment. These items and the comments written on them by camp wits were a source of much "fellowshipping."

During the summer months, the camp grounds in the evenings and on Sunday afternoons were full of the laughter and shouts of campers engaged in outdoor games, football, volleyball, or softball. Sometimes the campers, particularly on winter nights, would spend the evening in the dormitory, around the stove, or on the bunks, where they worked on leather craft, wove small rugs on hand frames, or talked with friends.

The appearance of the dormitories reflected the tastes of the campers living in them. Some were neat, while others were in habitual disorder. It was not uncommon in the earlier period of Brethren CPS for men to meet together informally to decide that they would order cabin life on a voluntary spirit of helpfulness and thoughtfulness. Though there were men who retained this spirit throughout their camp experience, many others became disinterested and extremely careless about dormitory maintenance. The living quarters were given colorful names by the occupants, such as *Tolstoy*, *Kagawa*, *Satyagraha*, and *Thoreau*. In one of the later camps, the nomenclature was of a different tone, including such titles as *Hollywood and Vine*, *The Tool House*, *Sleepy Hollow* and *4-F Dorm*.

The fellowship which grew out of the intimate camp life is well illustrated in the description of the rendezvous of some of the Camp Kane assignees.

Tipplers in Pennsylvania mountains knock heads and ideas together nightly at the Kane Koffee Klutch, a gathering which assembles just before lights out to klutch koffee kups, write letters, and read while they discuss whatever is on the minds of all comers. The only organization evident is in the responsibility for regular preparation of the koffee consumed. No holds are barred, except for a common understanding as to taking turns and as to rising temperatures

outside the koffee kup. It has been possible to have all elements of camp represented, and it has been a good clearing house for ideas that have eventually been put into practice in the camp, while for even occasional klutchers, it has been a good place to learn to understand the other fellow, besides being good fellowship.<sup>62</sup>

Alongside this spirit of fraternity and geniality, the camp atmosphere was also marked by a pessimism on the part of some campers which ranged from chronic dejection to hypochondria. Assignees in the latter group were frequently vitriolic in attack of all groups connected with the administration of the camps.

Compared with life outside CPS, the tempo of days in camp was leisurely. There was time to read, to discuss, and to think. With their food and lodging provided and no opportunity to enter into the competitive struggle in the world outside, the assignees were free to turn their energies into creative self-expression. Some took full advantage of this opportunity, while others were prodigal with the possibilities which camp life offered.

It is important to note, however, that though material necessities were provided, the campers were still subject to many pressures. For all the men it was a period of uncertainty; for some with responsibilities which they could not meet, it was a time of great anxiety. It was natural that those who were troubled about personal problems involving family difficulties and similar matters tended to overlook the values implicit in their situation and thus were unable to participate fully in the fellowship of the camp community. When this group was numerically large, it sometimes tended to set the tone of camp life.

<sup>62</sup>From a BCPS education bulletin, *Bulletin II on Non-Formal Education*, October 1, 1943, page 1.

*Camp Morale and Problems*

Morale in the Brethren base camps reached its highest peak during the first months of CPS. At that time most of the campers were inclined to emphasize the values which they felt were being achieved or could be achieved through the alternative service program. To their daily project work and to their leisure-time pursuits they brought a spirit of optimism and adventure which was notably missing in later years. The several problems which were then current in camp life were looked upon as subject to solution through pacifist techniques, and not as insurmountable obstacles inherent in the framework of the draft law. CPS at that time was generally held to be an opportunity for conscientious objectors to make a significant witness against war and to render a service of peace to society, in addition to providing an enriching personal experience for each assignee. This point of view did not endure long, however, as the prevailing climate of opinion. As months slipped into years, and especially as the peacetime "training" program of the nation became wartime conscription, a change began to take place in the manner of viewing CPS. The entry of the United States into the war marked a critical point in the development of camp morale, for this event altered the service status of the conscientious objectors from a twelve months' "training" period to an indefinite term of several years. Following that time, morale began a rather steady decline. Camp Director Jeff Mathis noted the effect of this shift upon the program as, in speaking of his experiences at Magnolia and Lagro, he said:

Magnolia opened June 10, 1941. Here we started from scratch with equipment, program, plans, and patterns. These were the



"pollyanna" days of C.P.S. We thought then it would be only a year, and at the end of that time each man would be free to go back to his job, his family, and his friends. In those days, there was much laughter and optimism among the men.

After 10 months at Magnolia, we went to Lagro. It was soon after the war had been declared and the realization had fully dawned that the period of camp would be long and tedious. In the face of this new realization, all became restless. Dispositions changed so that men and administrators became altogether unpredictable in their reactions to situations both new and old.<sup>63</sup>

With each succeeding year morale continued to decline, until, in the later days of CPS, the prevailing attitude seemed to be one of pessimism and cynicism—a feeling that the base-camp program could not be made workable in the sense of achieving the original high goals envisioned for the venture. CPS was no longer viewed as a challenging situation to be met and turned to good account, but as an ad interim experience, a "lost" period which could only be waited out. In the last years the prevailing climate of opinion tended to view many of the problems of the times as beyond solution within the existing camp framework, with a resulting growth of personal frustration and despair. Into the foreground of their thinking many of the men projected the failures and disappointments of camp life until its successes and achievements were rather generally overlooked.

Although some groups within the camp did not share this viewpoint they were characteristically rather ineffective in modifying or changing the existing outer attitudes that pervaded the camp atmosphere during the latter years. At least two factors contributed to such in-

<sup>63</sup>From a statement of J. H. Mathis, in an unpublished manuscript, *History of CPS Camp No. 6, Lagro, Indiana*, by W. Earl Griffin, September 23, 1945, page 4.



effectiveness. Many of the group more hopeful in outlook soon transferred to special projects. Of those remaining a number tended to be inarticulate in forming public opinion, or took little initiative in creating a different group spirit.

Basically, the decline in group morale was closely related to the large number of problems present within the camps for which no answer satisfactory to the campers seemed forthcoming. These problems were all interrelated, each with the other, and presented an extremely formidable and complex aspect to those who were forced to deal with them.

The feeling on the part of many that the work of the base camps was not the most important they could be doing, and that their skills and training were not being utilized,<sup>64</sup> bore heavily on the group spirit. It was difficult for such men to become enthusiastic over a service which they felt to be relatively insignificant.

Closely related to this dilemma was the rather large-scale exodus of the greater part of the natural leadership talent from the camps to the special projects. Men of this type were usually among those seeking more challenging and stimulating project work. They were also the very ones most likely to be accepted by the special-project superintendents. As a result each passing year the base camps lost their most talented groups. At the same time they accumulated an increasing number whom the special projects would not accept.

Side camps also drained the base camps of an able portion of their population. These outposts generally had a more important work project than the main camp; and

<sup>64</sup>See page 98.

the men selected to go were usually among the best workers. Since side-camp facilities for the development of a leisure-time program were less than at the main base, the smaller units also tended to draw those most willing to contribute to the success of the work program.

Meanwhile, the transiency of the base-camp population was a problem in itself. Successful operation of a complete community of from one hundred fifty to two hundred campers required planning, organization and training. Yet it was not uncommon for men vital to the smooth functioning of camp to become involved in a move to another location, perhaps to a side camp or a special project, or from an eastern camp to a western in the months immediately preceding fire season. The difficulties which this flux in population raised in the education program have been noted already. Comparable difficulties were raised in other areas of camp living.

Although the problems of pay and dependency were not peculiar to the base camps alone but extended to the special projects as well, they were probably more acute in the former-type unit. The financial insecurity of the conscientious objectors, which arose from the fact that they received no pay for their work, hindered the development of a high morale, especially as the period in camp lengthened from the originally proposed tenure of twelve months to four and more years. Although some assignees viewed the payless feature in a spirit of sacrificial service, others viewed it as an injustice, and a denial of a basic human right. Regardless of either viewpoint, the financial obligations of the men to their dependents or creditors were a pressing reality and inevitably conditioned their mental outlook.

Another factor which raised serious problems within the camps was the fundamental disagreement between the two major interpretations of CPS,<sup>65</sup> and the divergent lines of action to which each in turn pointed. Men who viewed the existing CPS structure as unwise, or as a basic moral wrong, could hardly be expected to contribute to the development of a successful pattern of camp living. In fact, their logic and conscience led them in quite the other direction. The camps, then, were confronted by the anomalous situation of supporting two groups working to achieve opposite goals, with a net result that the efforts of one tended to offset the efforts of the other. This dichotomy was often reflected in the relationships developed between the local staff and individual campers. Thus the former, as they sought to maintain certain camp standards, were often accused by the latter of aiding the government in its conscription and war program. Yet the staff felt such standards necessary to the achievement of a successful CPS experience, to which they gave more or less allegiance.

Meanwhile a multitude of other factors also were involved in the total camp situation. The uncertain duration of the term of CPS service led to an unsettled feeling among many, and for them it became difficult to plan specific objectives for the future. A number felt their witness against war and their constructive achievement for peace to be less than they wished, yet considered the existing alternatives to CPS as affording an even smaller opportunity for action. Some became discouraged with the personal conduct of fellow campers, as they seemed all too human in their habits and reactions. And

<sup>65</sup>See page 63.

still other problems might be listed, which seemingly had no universally satisfactory answer.

Balanced against the shortcomings and problems of base-camp life were its achievements and accomplishments—growth in education and religious living, the preservation of valuable natural resources, and other positive developments. Through the years the program appears as a mixed series of failures and successes. Because in some areas of experience the base camps early showed signs of inability to meet the highest aspirations of the participants—assignees and administrators alike—attention was turned to alternative forms of working units, with the resulting emergence of the special-projects program. It is to this development that the following pages are devoted.

## CHAPTER 5

### Changing Emphases: Special Projects

Base camps were the characteristic form of work-project organization for the first two years of Brethren Civilian Public Service. During that time the number of conscientious objectors assigned to other types of working units was small. As late as April 1943 the population of the camps was one thousand, two hundred seventy-five as compared to two hundred seventy-four for all other classes of assignment.<sup>1</sup> From that time on, however, the population of the base camps declined steadily, while that of other types of units—namely, special projects—grew. By July the number in camp had dropped to one thousand forty-one while special projects had increased to six hundred fourteen.<sup>2</sup> By the end of January 1944 the population of the special projects was greater than that of the camps, and continued so for the remaining years of the program.<sup>3</sup> Graph one illustrates the relative population growth and decline in both types of assignment.

Special projects as a parallel program to base camps emerged and were developed primarily as a result of initiative on the part of interested assignees and the church-agency administrators of CPS. Both groups, while

<sup>1</sup>*Form No. 114, NSBRO, April 8, 1943.*

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, July 15, 1943.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1944.

recognizing the values inherent in the camp pattern, were eager to develop a type of project which would render a more immediate service to people in need. Faced with a world engaged in widespread destruction, they sought an employment which would minister directly to human beings in privation and misfortune. A discussion of hospital projects in the *Gospel Messenger* illustrates this motivation:

Hospital service for Civilian Public Service men had its beginning through the desire of the men and of the administrative agencies to find a type of service where men could deal first hand with some of the needs of suffering humanity. Early C.P.S. projects such as forestry and soil conservation certainly will yield beneficial results in the generations to come, but many men wanted a type of service which met more immediate needs—something more in the stream of the humanitarian movements.<sup>4</sup>

Assignees and administrators were also looking for a type of assignment which would better utilize the training and skills of the men. And both were seeking projects which would be financially self-supporting, for many campers felt keenly that they were a burden on the peace churches. The early efforts to establish special projects are well described by the national director of Brethren CPS, W. Harold Row, in a report to the Brethren Service Committee in January 1943:

. . . [special] projects were very slow in developing. For a year the NSBRO and service agencies have been attempting to open up such channels, pushed by those in and out of camps who felt that the assignees should be doing "more socially significant work," and work which better utilized their special abilities. Added to this was the feeling on the part of many men that they couldn't happily accept "charity from the Historic Peace Churches." For these rea-

<sup>4</sup>*Gospel Messenger*, October 16, 1943, page 18.

sons, coupled with the natural desire to render immediate service to the needy in our midst, we have exerted considerable effort in providing . . . [special project] opportunities. Three factors made this a difficult task:

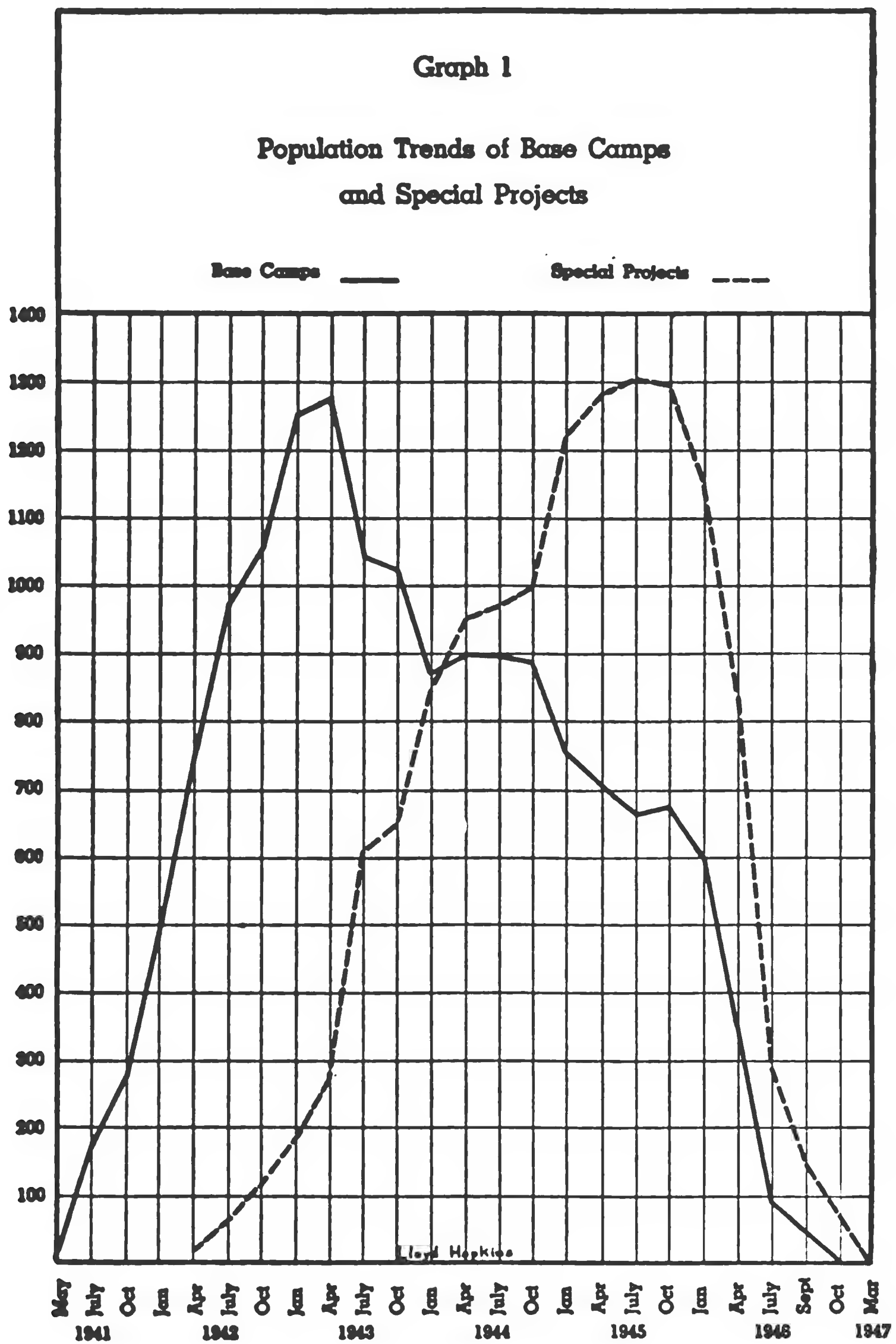
1. The reluctance of Selective Service to place men in immediate social contact with the public.
2. The hesitancy of those needing help to risk having CO's in their institutions.
3. The endless red-tape involved in any new semi-government setup.

Three factors have proved favorable to . . . [special projects]:

1. The desperate need for help on the part of hospitals, farms, etc.
2. The efforts of many key people in government agencies.
3. The favorable reports of those hospital superintendents and others using CPS men . . . .<sup>5</sup>

As the special-projects program was established and grew, it came to include working units in several fields of activity. Through it men were assigned to duty in mental hospitals and training schools for mentally retarded children, to dairy farms, to agricultural colleges and experiment stations, to dairy testing associations, to administrative positions in the church-agency offices, to "guinea pig" experiments, to relief and rehabilitation units, to public health services, and to other assignments. Generally these newer-type units provided some of the opportunities sought by the men and the church in their establishment. Characteristically the work was more directly and immediately related to the welfare of persons than that of the base camps; it likewise called for more skill and training; and in most instances the basic expenses of the projects were borne by the institutions using the men.

<sup>5</sup>W. Harold Row, *Report of the Director of Civilian Public Service to the Brethren Service Committee*, January 15, 1943, page 2.



Data in graph 1 is compiled from NSBRO form No. 114.



Although each type of special unit varied from every other, all exhibited some common features. Generally several men were detailed to a single project as a group. In most cases the number ranged from twenty to thirty or more, with some units smaller, and others considerably larger. To the majority of the participants the special projects offered a more "normal" situation than the camps, for there the men were not so isolated from the type of environment in which they had lived and worked in pre-draft days. Furthermore, since many of the new assignments were in well-established institutions with regularly employed personnel, the conscientious objectors did not feel so keenly that they were segregated from society.

In terms of fiscal policy, special projects also differed markedly from the camps. With few exceptions, the agencies using the men in the newer-type program provided at least room, board, laundry, and a small monthly allowance to cover items of personal expense. This type of arrangement relieved the Brethren Service Committee of a large financial responsibility, for in the base camps they bore these expenses or their equivalent.

Most of the special projects were developed under a common plan of organization. Generally, each assignee group had a leader, the assistant director, who functioned in a manner comparable to that of the director of the base camp. He was responsible for the preparation of official forms and reports. He likewise had a responsibility in developing a constructive program for the off-duty hours of the assignees. In this latter task he usually worked with an individual or committee of the group especially delegated to care for the leisure-time activities.



**Special Projects.** Above: Dan West leading a foreign relief unit class, Manchester College campus

Below: Florida hookworm-control project involved construction and distribution of sanitary privies





**Mental Hospital Service**

Giving patient an injection

Bed bath



*Photos by  
Henry Blocher,  
Fort Steilacoom, Washington*



Blood transfusion



A little outpatient

*Photos by J. Henry Dasenbrock*

Puerto Rican  
children at com-  
munity Christ-  
mas party



Castañer, Puerto  
Rico, Hospital  
and Community  
Service Project



**Minnesota Experiment.** 'A volunteer after six months of semistarvation

He also represented the interests of the men and the Brethren Service Committee to the officials of the using institution, and to others with whom the unit had business. His influence in determining the course of unit life was not so great, however, as that of the base-camp director. This was particularly true in mental hospitals, where the authority of the superintendent seemed especially dominant.

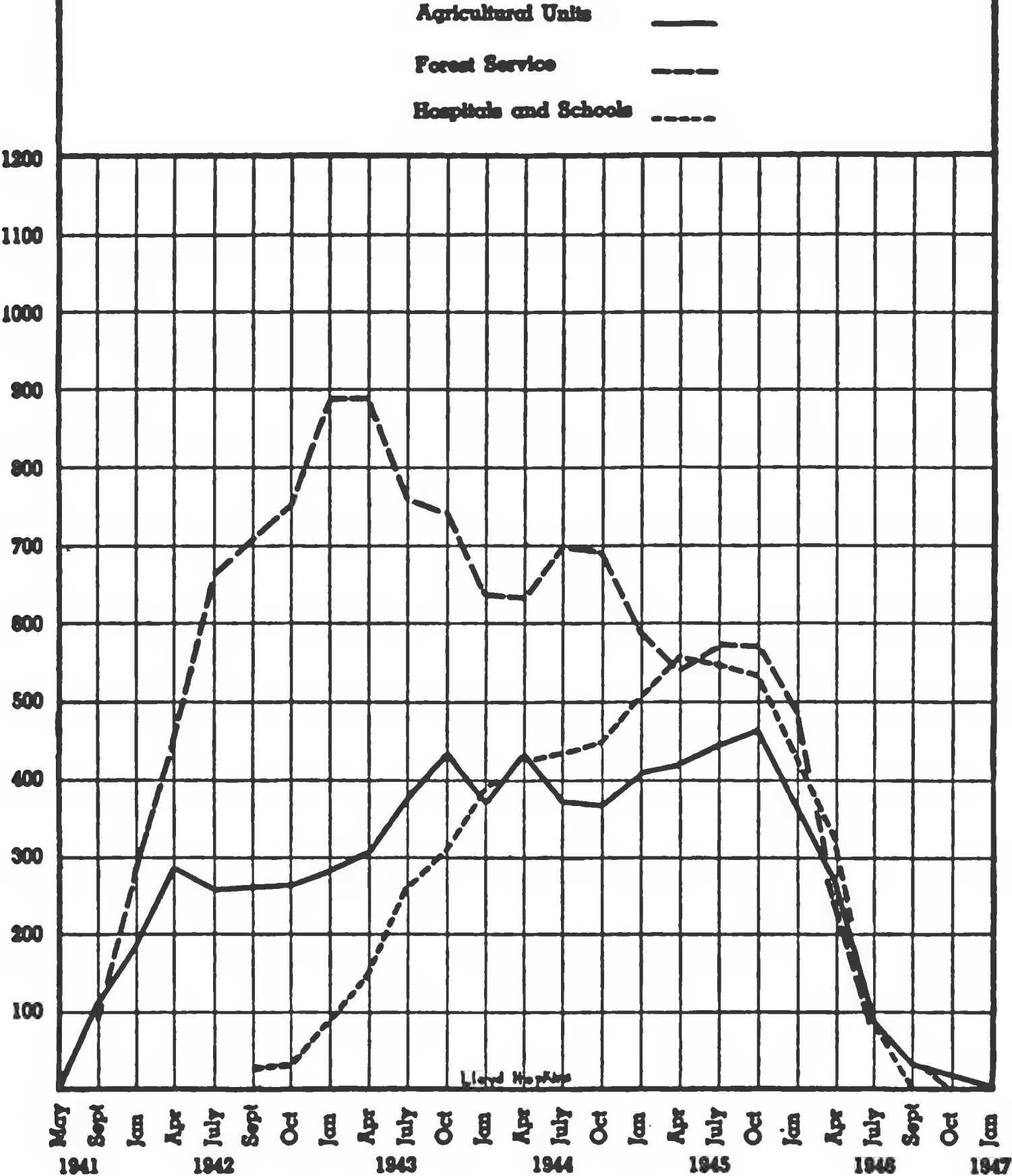
Supplementing the assistant directors in their work were the area supervisors—one in the western region of the United States, one in the central region, and two in the eastern region. These men, all nonassignees, visited the various projects in their districts, counseling and advising, and participating in decisions involving major CPS policy. The persons filling these positions were Mark Schrock and Ora Huston in the West; Drue Funderburg in the Midwest; and Samuel Harley, Levi Ziegler (area farm supervisor), and Wilbur Bantz in the East.

The daily work of the assignees was performed under the supervision of the using agency, whose head was generally designated as director of the project. His duties were comparable to those of the project superintendent in the base camps. In addition, however, he exercised some powers of discipline, especially through his privilege of sending men back to camp.<sup>6</sup> He also influenced unit developments through the type of living facilities which he made available to the group, and through other means. Thus, in the special projects, the using agency proved a more potent factor in determining the total unit life than in the base camps.

<sup>6</sup>This was a marked change from the base-camp plan. There discipline was vested not in the using agency, but in the church agency.

Graph 2

Population Trends of Forest Service Camps,  
Mental Hospitals and Training Schools,  
and Agricultural Units (including Soil  
Conservation Camps)



Data in graph 2 is compiled from NSBRO form No. 114.

Special projects were operated as a parallel program to the camps. Transfer to and from one to the other was possible within certain general limits. Men who had spent at least ninety days in camp were eligible to volunteer for whatever openings existed in the special units. Several steps were involved in completing a transfer. First, the approval of the camp director and the project superintendent was needed to release the man from his then-current assignment if he was serving in a key position, or if he was needed for fire-fighting duties. All applications were next forwarded to Elgin. There the most likely candidates were nominated to the agency needing the men. The selections of the using agency were then forwarded by the Elgin office to the NSBRO, which in turn took them to Selective Service for final approval. The procedure for transfer from one special unit to another, or from one camp to another, was similar.

The emergence and expansion of the special-projects program was a very significant development in Brethren CPS. Its early rise and subsequent emphasis in the middle and later years brought far-reaching changes in all phases of the alternative-service system. In itself, of course, it was markedly different from the base-camp plan. Beyond providing a parallel mode of service, however, special projects also reached back into the camps to alter profoundly some of their basic working concepts. In three ways, especially, the newer units influenced the course of camp developments. In the first place, the advent of special projects emphasized and reinforced the nascent point of view that a more important and significant alternative service could be rendered outside the base-camp pattern. The possibility of transfer to the



special units contributed greatly to the feeling that the base-camp assignment was a residual type of service—that the camp was not the primary unit of organization, but rather a type of induction center which it would be well to leave as soon as placement in a special project should be effected. C. Ray Keim noted the growth of this attitude in 1943, following visits to six Brethren units:

The Conservation and Forest work has come to be a *residual* task, for those who cannot go into what many think are more significant projects. This is a serious problem. . . . Of all things, I feel this has reduced camp morale the most. How can men develop a good attitude toward this work as long as such a situation remains? . . . This constant depletion of the camps for . . . [special projects] is enough to demoralize the projects in the camps.<sup>7</sup>

In the second place, with the advent of special projects, camp life became much less permanent in nature. Campers were eager to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the special units, and constantly sought such assignments. As they were accepted and transferred to their new duties the change was reflected in the makeup of the camp body. More and more the population came to manifest features of transiency. Planning educational programs or long-range goals of any kind became difficult, for none could be sure how long the participants would remain. Group activities were often interrupted and seriously crippled by the transfer of leaders and key personnel. Thus an air of uncertainty came to mark almost all activities undertaken. Early in the program W. Harold Row noted the effect of a changing population upon the educational plans of the Brethren base camps, and pointed out the significance of the development.

<sup>7</sup>Letter of C. Ray Keim to W. Harold Row, August 25, 1943, page 4.

The coming of . . . [special projects] has forced us to rebuild our whole education program. Formerly we timed our program on "the duration." We kept planning for those things which should happen to men between assignment to camp and ultimate discharge at the end of the war. But with the development of . . . [special projects] we found that men might remain in regular camps only 90 days before leaving on special assignment. Returns from a recent questionnaire sent the camps by the NSBRO indicate that 92% of the first 2000 assignees voting seemed to favor . . . [special projects] in some form.<sup>8</sup>

Despite our satisfaction at this significant development . . . [special projects], we recognize a severe handicap to our CPS training opportunities. Our regular camps, in my judgment, offer the finest chance Christian Pacifism has ever had to prepare a large number of young men for creative leadership in building brotherhood and international goodwill. We had 50 or more communities of young men living, working, eating, sleeping, studying, planning and worshipping together with a common purpose to end wars and build goodwill. The task was not easy. The men represented a wide variety of viewpoints in religion, morals, economics and social action. We didn't accomplish all we planned, but when . . . [special projects] came to rob us of the concept, "in camp for the duration," we felt a significant door of opportunity had been partly closed.<sup>9</sup>

Base camps were also profoundly affected by the special projects in that the latter tended to attract many of the most talented men. A conference of regional representatives noted this trend in 1943.

A relatively high percentage of the most creative and constructive men . . . have moved on to special projects. This has resulted in the lowering of the camps' education, social interest and religious attitude level. . . . it seems that the least creative persons elect to stay in camp.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup>W. Harold Row, *Report . . . to the Brethren Service Committee*, January 15, 1943, page 3.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, page 2.

<sup>10</sup>Brethren Camp Directors Memorandum No. 432, December 13, 1943, page 1.

At the same time that many of the natural leaders were transferring, a growing residue of men whose applications for special projects had not been accepted, or who had been returned to camp as unsatisfactory, was accumulating. Thus, the camps tended to reflect progressively less creativity and leadership ability.

The growth of the special projects program and the relative decline of the base-camp pattern also had important implications for the development of a group consciousness and solidarity within the pacifist ranks. To a much larger extent than the units, the camps offered individual conscientious objectors opportunity to become acquainted with many other persons of like mind, and thus to develop some sense of a common cause. There was also more time to think and plan for peace action and for participation in a leisure-time program. In addition, intercommunication was more easily established and maintained among the larger base-type groups. Special projects, on the other hand, split the larger groups into smaller units. Furthermore, their conditions of work and living were generally unfavorable to a growth of group unity, for the men were often assigned to different details and shifts, and sometimes lodged in separate sleeping quarters. The work week was also longer, ranging to sixty or more hours, especially in the mental hospitals and training schools. As a consequence, the assignees had less time and energy to devote to group activities, and the achievement of a united front for the establishment of patterns of peaceful living. While it is problematical as to how far a group consciousness and organization among the IV-E's could have been developed under either type of program, especially in view of the

great diversity of background and thought patterns represented, it seems evident that special projects offered less opportunity in this regard than the base camps.

The procedure for the establishment of the newer-type units involved several steps. Suggestions and plans from various sources—mainly assignees, the Brethren Service Committee, and the National Service Board for Religious Objectors—were investigated by the special projects section of the National Service Board. Following preliminary explorations and planning, the National Service Board opened negotiations with Selective Service, for all projects needed the final approval of this government agency. After Selective Service had authorized the unit, there remained the details of securing applicants for the work, selecting those desired, and arranging for their transfer.

In authorizing the establishment of CPS projects, Selective Service headquarters considered several factors. In their words:

The following factors were judged to be the most important in the selecting of projects:

1. Was the project important to the government in the emergency considering the manpower available, and was the project the most important thing that could be done at the time? Would it continue to be important with the probable changes in the situation?

2. Would the conscientious objectors do it? It would have been useless to select projects which the conscientious objectors would not do wholeheartedly, because filling the jails does not solve such a problem.

3. Would the public tolerate the objector in the community where the project was to be located? It would be useless to attempt a project in a community where the local population so threatened or harassed the objector that he could not do a creditable job. In many cases, the cooperation of the citizens of the community was

necessary. Veterans' organizations were usually the leaders in opposition to attempted projects.

4. Would other employable labor be displaced? No projects were attempted which would have displaced labor already employed, or where funds and labor were available for the project.

5. Would it raise political controversy? An attempt was made to keep the conscientious objectors out of any community where their presence might have become a political issue.<sup>11</sup>

Selective Service felt that some areas of work—especially education and social welfare—were particularly inappropriate for conscientious objectors. They felt that “public opinion and the necessity of maintaining the war effort prevented the use of conscientious objectors in the fields of education and social welfare work where there was a possibility that they might spread their philosophies and thus hamper the war effort.”<sup>12</sup>

As indicated previously, the initiative in the drive for newer units stemmed mainly from the assignees and church-agency administrators of CPS. In May 1945 W. Harold Row reported that “almost every advance into new types of project has been pressed by Administrative Agencies and only very reluctantly agreed to by SSS” [Selective Service].<sup>13</sup> On their part, Selective Service officials were inclined to favor the use of the conscientious objectors within relatively few types of projects. They felt an expanded program would demand a larger administrative staff, and that the number of men in CPS would not justify such an increase. This viewpoint was expressed in a letter of Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission. Although written in 1943,

<sup>11</sup>From an unpublished monograph of Selective Service, *Conscientious Objection*, Neal M. Wherry, editor, page 18 of section VIII.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, page 23.

<sup>13</sup>A report of W. Harold Row to the Brethren Service Committee, May 1945.

the letter illustrates a point of view emphasized throughout the program.

. . . since at the present time the number of these men is less than 7000, it is felt that from an administrative standpoint it is desirable to utilize their services among as few types of projects as possible . . . . While it is realized that there are individuals who have special skills to perform certain individual types of work, it is felt best to utilize these skills within the projects now in operation rather than scatter them as individuals out over the country where keeping track of them and checking on their efforts would become almost an unsurmountable job without setting up a very large administrative organization.<sup>14</sup>

Because the special projects seemed to offer certain large advantages not obtainable within the base camps, and because so many of the assignees within Brethren CPS favored that type of assignment, the Brethren Service Committee came to emphasize the newer program more and more with the passing years. This trend is well indicated by the relative decline in number of base camps and growth in number of special projects sponsored by the Brethren following the initial period of CPS operation. In April 1943, when the base-camp population reached its peak (one thousand, two hundred seventy-five), the Brethren were administering ten camps and ten special units.<sup>15</sup> Within three months, however, the special units had been increased to twenty.<sup>16</sup> By January 31, 1944, there were eight camps and twenty-three special units.<sup>17</sup> In October 1945 just as systematic demobilization was beginning, there were twenty-seven special units

<sup>14</sup>As quoted in Memorandum No. 114 to board of directors (NSBRO), February 5, 1943, by Paul Comly French.

<sup>15</sup>*Form No. 114, NSBRO*, April 8, 1943.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, July 15, 1943.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, January 31, 1944.

as compared to five camps.<sup>18</sup> The population of both types of units is given in graph one.

Official statements of the service committee also illustrate the changing sentiment toward an emphasis on the newer program of special units. In October 1943 the Brethren proposed:

That we enrich the program of . . . special projects by providing a large selection . . . to utilize more effectively the varied skills of men . . . .

That we be granted the privilege to direct men into projects as soon as it is clear what their skills and interests are.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time the National Service Board wrote to Selective Service that "we are desirous of broadening the type of service available because we believe that more effective national use of the abilities and training of the men . . . can be made by developing further projects in areas of human need."<sup>20</sup>

In March 1945 the service committee approved the following policy statement relative to special projects:

The Brethren Service Committee would like to reduce materially its expenditures of funds for the maintenance of C.P.S. camps in order that it might minister more adequately to (1) the educational, religious and personnel needs of men in C.P.S. . . . (2) the needs of the dependents of C.P.S. men and (3) the increasing demands of relief . . . . To this end the Committee instructs its staff to attempt to reduce the number of base camps, and to urge the men in base camps to consider seriously transferring as opportunity affords to available openings in special projects.<sup>21</sup>

By November 1945 the service committee voted that "the number of base camps be reduced to a minimum

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, October 15, 1945.

<sup>19</sup>*Official Minutes of the Brethren Service Committee*, October 1943, page 34.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, page 35.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, March 1945, page 91.



so that by early spring . . . [they] would be operating no more than one or two . . . .” At the same time, they proposed that an increased number of men be assigned to relief and rehabilitation work, and to “research, planning service with scientific and social agencies.”<sup>22</sup>

Thus a survey of Brethren CPS reveals that two patterns of working units operated simultaneously. The first to emerge, the base camp, was the dominant mode of organization during the initial period of the program. Within a relatively short time, however, the special project was developed as an alternative type of service. Because the new plan seemed more feasible than the old, it was emphasized increasingly with each succeeding month, until it, in turn, became the dominant pattern of work-project organization.

Special projects may be classified in several ways. Three general categories used in the following pages are: mental hospital and training school units; agricultural units; and relief units. These three types accounted for the greater part of the special-project population, and to each of them a separate chapter has been devoted. In addition, the Brethren Service Committee administered several units in which the assignees served as subjects (and sometimes technicians) in scientific experiments—the so-called “guinea pig” projects. The outstanding unit of this type—the starvation and rehabilitation experiment at the University of Minnesota—is described at some length in chapter 9. Brief paragraph descriptions of each of the others may be found in the appendix. Finally, several individual projects were sponsored, including a

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, November 1945, page 105.



Forest Service research unit at Olustee, Florida; a Weather Bureau unit at Mt. Weather, Virginia; and a unit under the technical direction of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Interior at Bowie, Maryland. These, too, are described in the appendix. Two other special projects, the Crestview-Tallahassee unit and the Castañer unit, seemed to merit special consideration because of the high level of achievement to which they attained. Accordingly, they have been described in chapters 8 and 11, respectively. The work of the administrative unit at Elgin is outlined in chapter 13.

## CHAPTER 6

### Mental Hospital and Training School Units

With the passage of the National Selective Service Act in the fall of 1940 and the consequent withdrawal of men from their peacetime occupations, and with the great expansion of industry and agriculture that came as the demands for the materials and implements of war reached new peaks, there developed in the United States an ever-increasing shortage of labor in many of the less remunerative and less war-related occupations. Among the institutions adversely affected by the labor shortage were the mental hospitals and training schools of the nation. These groups, unable to compete with the high standards of employment offered by the war industries, and without a deferred status under the law, were faced with an extremely critical man-power situation. The extent of their labor crisis is revealed by the following excerpts from letters to the National Service Board from hospitals requesting conscientious objector help:

Our personnel needs are acute and growing worse daily. We are short today 165 attendants out of a normal complement of 225.

We are working with less than half our proper force and are definitely below the level of safe coverage.

At present the demand for admission is so great, and the available help so short that the pressure upon us is severe.

We are 150 attendants short out of 256. The situation is dangerous.

Our institution has become severely affected by the war effort and the selective service, so much so that we have already thought of the possibility of having to close up half of our main building. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In the face of this great need for help, the concerned parties opened negotiations for the assignment of conscientious objectors to service in mental hospitals and training schools. Added impetus to the establishment of such special projects came from the desire of many of the men, and the service committees, to engage in work ministering directly to immediate human needs. As a result a program was developed whereby the Brethren Service Committee accepted responsibility for the administration of thirteen such units. Ten of these were mental hospitals, located respectively at Sykesville, Maryland; Cambridge,<sup>2</sup> Maryland; Marion, Virginia; Newtown, Connecticut; Norwich, Connecticut; Augusta, Maine; Lyons, New Jersey; Columbus, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; and Fort Steilacoom, Washington. Three were training schools for the mentally deficient.<sup>3</sup> They were located at Colony, Virginia; Mansfield, Connecticut; and Buckley, Washington. By April 1945 the conscientious objectors working in these Brethren-administered projects numbered five hundred sixty, or approximately twenty-eight per cent of the total BCPS population, which at that time was one thousand, nine hundred ninety-one.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Civilian Public Service Units in Mental Hospitals* (Washington: NSBRO, a four-page leaflet), page 2.

<sup>2</sup>For an interim period—November 15, 1944, to March 1, 1946—the American Baptist Home Mission Society administered the Cambridge unit.

<sup>3</sup>The chief difference between a mental hospital and a training school lies in the type of patient admitted. Training schools are devoted primarily to the care of those whose mental deficiency results chiefly from hereditary factors, and for whom there is little or no hope of cure. Mental hospitals are devoted to the care of patients who have become unbalanced from environmental factors and for whom there is a hope of cure.

<sup>4</sup>Figures taken from NSBRO form No. 114, April 16, 1945.

Although the several Brethren-sponsored hospital and training school units varied one from the other, each representing a unique grouping of persons and events, it is possible to characterize many features and developments as common to them all. The work assignments of each type of unit and the administrative arrangements, especially, were similar in kind and, to a somewhat lesser extent, so were the problems faced by all. The greatest differences arose in the activities developed during the off-duty hours of the men, although even in this regard certain parallelisms are evident.

### *Work Assignments: Hospitals*

The large majority of the conscientious objectors in the mental hospital units worked as ward attendants, caring directly for the needs of the patients, although a number were assigned to other duties, including food preparation, office work, truck driving, building maintenance and repair, landscaping, work on the hospital farms and dairies, occupational therapy, social work, laboratory assistance, and similar tasks.<sup>5</sup> The working day was generally quite long, especially for the attendants, many of whom worked shifts of sixty or more hours per week. Coupled with the long days on the wards were the trying conditions of handling patients unable to care for themselves in any way and the seeming lack of hope for their restoration to full health. The daily routine of the ward attendant is well described in the following accounts,

<sup>5</sup>Table 9 lists the number of man-days devoted to the various types of assignment at each institution. Next to ward attendance (272,610 man-days), the most man-days were spent in food preparation in the hospital kitchens (29,944). Work on the hospital farms and dairies producing food ranked next (22,687 man-days), followed by clerical assignments (19,856 man-days), technical and professional assignments (18,793), and building maintenance and repair (16,330).

which portray in detail the specific tasks and conditions of work in typical ward situations. From a Maryland hospital a report lists the duties of the attendant thus:

The work of a ward attendant varies. Generally speaking his job involves: complete ward housekeeping—sweeping, mopping, waxing and polishing floors, bed making and taking care of patients' clothes. He supervises and assists the patients in eating, bathing, dressing, and undressing. He might be an aide in giving various treatments such as dressings, injections, electric shock and hydrotherapy. He may accompany patients on walks outdoors, to the weekly movie, or monthly patients' dance. Attendants work with patients of the same sex.

The first few days on the wards are the most difficult. The work becomes easier after one gains self-confidence and clears his mind of any misapprehensions he may have had concerning the work and behavior of patients and learns to know that their behavior can be anticipated.<sup>6</sup>

A more graphic account of mental hospital life is unfolded in the following report from a Virginia hospital:

I wish you might spend some days on various wards as I am to be able to. Monday morning I worked . . . where most of the senile sick patients are. The odors of a hospital ward are usually thought of as rank with antiseptic, but this ward has an ineradicable pungent smell of ancient B.O., food-stained gowns, and fecal matter combined, too strong for the antiseptic to cut through except perhaps momentarily. There is a day room in which the patients not bed-fast sit, all day long, on benches against the wall. They wear denims for the most part. Some are responsive, and some have only an idle stare as one walks about or through the room. A few are able to work, and help a great deal with the cleaning, the care of laundry, the feeding of bed-fast patients, etc.

Across the hall is a room with twelve to fourteen white-covered beds in it. All these patients require more or less constant observa-

<sup>6</sup>"Civilian Public Service Unit No. 47," *Brethren Service Committee—CPS Unit Descriptions*, page 2.

tion and care, some of them being "soil patients" . . . and others requiring special feeding or special dressings . . . . In an L to the left of this room is a straight corridor with six rooms leading from it on each side. The doors to these rooms are locked and have small squares of glass about three inches square in them. Behind these doors are patients of varying degrees of untrustworthiness; men whose illness is very grave, or who become disturbed with other patients around them . . . . These patients require rather constant care . . . and to their care especially the requirements of limitless patience and a strong stomach apply for the attendants.<sup>7</sup>

From a hospital in Washington comes a full account of the custodial aspects of work on the wards, with glimpses into the more human elements of the service:

Custodial care is the main job of the average attendant in a mental hospital. With the exception of those persons who administer medications or who do work of a specialized nature, the principle requirement for a good attendant is one that includes a genuine underlying concern for the people with whom he will spend the day. Some patients can, within the routine of the hospital, pretty well take care of themselves. A few are able to give excellent assistance in taking care of the more helpless. But it is the attendant's responsibility to see that things run smoothly. The "up-patients" must be gotten out of bed and dressed. All must be washed and combed, and fed. They must be kept warm and have exercise. They should be kept from feeling locked up. They must feel that there are friendly people around them. They should be kept happy, but they must not be pampered.

One of the major and most distasteful parts of custodial care comes under the heading of bed-changing. Bed-patients abound in hospitals for mental care. Many of them are incontinent and must be changed often. The proverbial "patience of Job" and a firm determination are valuable assets to the attendant assigned to the sickening odor and picturesque unpleasanties of an incontinent ward. Patients must be changed regularly for more than humanitarian reasons, as any attendant who has dealt with bed or pressure

<sup>7</sup>Report of Lowell Wright to W. Harold Row, June 23, 1943, page 3.

sores should be willing to agree. Pressure sores are among the most difficult to heal, and since they are most common among patients who have little resistance to tissue breakdown left, they are a constant source of irritation to the attendant as well as the patient.

To the layman the assignment sounds and seems to be simply one of "being around," for there are always a few patients to aid with the "dirty work." It must appear to be very easy, but picture in your mind the immense amount of patience that a mother exerts caring for her child, and then multiply that patience many times and apply it to the hospital situation where suspicions and false notions run rampant and you have a small idea of what the mental hospital attendant is facing every day on his job.

Custodial care includes everything. It is not the glamorous or exciting part of an attendant's job. Events do occur, however, to lend interest to the regular routine. Sometimes a patient must be prompted and urged to eat in spite of the fact that he is firmly convinced that he has no stomach. The job is a little more difficult if he thinks you are trying to poison him. He must be bathed even during the times when he is sure that the attendant is set on drowning him, or that the tub is full of crocodiles. When he is in the most disturbed condition the patient will continue to grow whiskers and when he eyes you from the bathroom wielding a gleaming straight-edge razor it may be fairly difficult to convince him that the razor is to cut the beard and not his throat. But even more trying on the nerves of the average attendant than the patient with delusions and hallucinations which are fairly pronounced, is the one with whom and about whom you seem to be able to do nothing. One can only suppose his trouble and be even more patient than usual. Perhaps he is senile, or getting that way. He can't remember that an hour ago you told him where he is, and why you can't call his wife, so he will ask you again and again at regular or . . . [irregular] intervals. Perhaps he is suffering from the effects of a stroke and is constantly irritable. Nothing you can do will make him happy or put him at ease. Or perhaps he is of the persistent type that insists on telling you his story over and over again, making you wonder more and more why he is in the hospital at all, but on the other hand making you very certain that he is in the right place. The constant small irritation of never knowing what your patients will do

next manages to set many an attendant on edge to the extent that civil response to the patient becomes very difficult. Routine becomes set and patterns to keep patients in order rather than to keep them happy become the line of least resistance and the accepted custom. To the pacifist the situation offers a challenge . . . .<sup>8</sup>

*Work Assignments: Training Schools*

The work assignments of the conscientious objectors at the training schools can be best indicated by considering each project separately. At Colony, Virginia, a number of the men served as ward attendants, with others detailed to duties in the kitchen and the office, and on the farm and grounds. In many respects these assignments were very much like those of a mental hospital unit.

At Buckley, Washington, the work was more varied. One description lists the men as working in the following manner:

. . . five work on the farm and dairy, three in the garden, two are teachers, two are on recreation, one is in the social worker's office, and one each is on the lawns and attendant at the [farm] cottage . . . . None of us have worked as regular attendants in the halls. We are in complete charge of the school and recreation program.<sup>9</sup>

At Mansfield, Connecticut, the men were assigned principally as ward attendants, teachers, clerical workers, and farmers, with one assignee, at least, serving as an industrial room manager.

The teaching at Mansfield and Buckley stressed training in handwork, crafts, and physical education, although some academic work of a very elementary nature was included in the curriculum.

<sup>8</sup>Al Benglen, "Custodial Care," *Viewpoint*, I, 3 (December 1, 1943) page 8 ff.

<sup>9</sup>CPS Unit No. 95," *Brethren Service Committee—CPS Unit Description*, page 1.



**Table 9**  
**Mental Hospital and Training School Units**  
**Work Accomplishment Record in Man-Days Over Total Period of Operation<sup>10</sup>**

Name and Number of Unit	Type of Work								Total
	Attendants	Clerical	Agriculture	Maintenance and Construction	Motor Vehicle Operation	Laundry and Dry Cleaning	Technical and Professional	Food Preparation	
Augusta, 88 .....	9,968	721	332	1,891		700		2,053	15,665
Cambridge, 74 .....	9,145	263	440	46		464	238	1,027	11,623
Columbus, 73 .....	19,675	1,717		4,288	196	13	940	2,464	29,293
Dayton, 70 .....	4,988	1,588	2,032	1,663				2,679	12,950
Fort Steilacoom, 51 .....	5,532	2,266	3,744	828	1,843		1,740	1,537	17,490
Lyons, 80 .....	80,373	2,016	706	692			238	7,139	91,164
Marion, 109 .....	16,258	1,112	1,404	127	390		2,834	736	22,861
Newtown, 82 .....	25,941	658	1,410	1,733			2,676	2,096	34,514
Norwich, 68 .....	40,282	1,959	3,695	74	434	691	2,461	593	50,189
Sykesville, 47 .....	37,454	1,250	1,711	451	65		2,574	5,620	49,125
Buckley, 95 .....	213	773	3,985	1,453		20	2,556	20	9,020
Colony, 105 .....	9,070	2,113	856	2,529	396		832	3,980	19,776
Mansfield, 91 .....	13,711	3,420	2,372	555			1,704		21,762
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>272,610</b>	<b>19,856</b>	<b>22,687</b>	<b>16,330</b>	<b>3,324</b>	<b>1,888</b>	<b>18,793</b>	<b>29,944</b>	<b>385,432</b>

<sup>10</sup>Figures taken from Selective Service form DSS 52.

A partial insight into the nature of the work at the training schools is offered by the reflections of a Mansfield assignee about the patients, and their relation to the attendant.

An alert and observing attendant will discover these low grades resemble a normal person, living in slow-motion fashion. Notwithstanding this constitutional make-up, these "little thinkers" are careful to preserve a spark of life. They seem far more humane than many "normal" people. They seek satisfaction and contentment in "being a part of" and "belonging to" a group similar to their own understanding. They seek encouragement in their abilities and like attention. They seek consolation in their frustrated moments. Again, they seek security from the inconsistencies of their fellow playmates.

Understanding the low grade patient to be mentally dormant but highly . . . [sensitive] the attendant must be very tactful in making impressions. Scores of glancing eyes are watching most unassumingly every movement he makes. Carefully they tabulate the difference it makes to you if "Popeye's" left shoe is on his right foot, or if "Woodchuck's" clothes are soiled. They tabulate your reaction to Mickey's cut or bruise or, better yet, his toothache. Eddie may be homesick; Mike may have had a tough day; they all try to express their feelings. Caution is in order when they are thus measuring your disposition. They are concerned about how quickly you check the unhealthy aversions of certain members.

The patients "Oh!" and "Ah!" when Bobbie throws an aimless fist while cursing you up and down. You might demoralize yourself by responding with a quick uppercut; you should demoralize the patient with a gradual pressure hold. Their attitudes come to total those of the attendant's response pattern. If an attendant is earnest and sincere, he will be concerned about the welfare of his "boys." In like manner, the patients have confidence in and hold respect for such a superior. To gain this quality of respect, the guardian must mold a pattern of society comparable only to that found in a father-son relationship.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Kenneth Hetrick, *Training Schools*, mental hygiene program of CPS exchange service, camp series (February 10, 1945, a mimeographed bulletin), page 6.

*Work and Conscience*

As the assignees took up their new duties they were confronted by a problem directly related to their pacifist views. The difficulty centered around the extent to which nonviolent techniques could be used in handling mentally unbalanced patients, and as to how far the use of physical force could be reconciled with a thoroughgoing pacifist philosophy. Among the conscientious objectors there were varying shades of opinion. One point of view was that the use of physical force was not necessary and was, in fact, psychologically harmful to the patient. Another point of view, and one that seemed most widely held, was that in some instances the use of force was necessary in restraining patients, but that the use of such restraint should be kept to a minimum. A distinction was made between the use of force to maintain control of the ward situation, and the use of force as a measure of punishment or as a means of creating fear within the patients. Adherents of this view varied as to the amount and degree of force necessary.<sup>12</sup>

In the actual ward situation the problem was twofold in nature. In their own relationship to the patient the assignees desired to establish a sympathetic and kind approach, and to abstain from the use of physical force or reduce such use to a minimum. Yet they daily faced the human tendency to slip into a routine whereby it seemed easier to maintain order and discipline through punishment and fear rather than through understanding and kindness.

<sup>12</sup>One attendant analyzed the viewpoints thus: "There seemed to be a distinction between force and violence, the latter involving activity designed to express the emotional needs of the attendant . . . while the former was directed to maintaining control . . . with a minimum amount of restraint on the patient." (Letter of Gerard V. Haigh to the author, February 2, 1948.)

At the same time many of the regularly employed attendants with whom they worked used physical punishment quite freely, at times extending beyond corrective measures to abuse. In some instances the conscientious objectors were under the supervision of attendants of this type.

The extent of the contribution of the conscientious objectors toward the establishment of more humane care for mental patients is very difficult to determine. In the first place it should be noted that their viewpoint toward the patient was one which had been advocated by leading authorities on mental health many years before the advent of CPS. As was pointed out in one article, "However hospital authorities may disagree with our position on war they are fully agreed that our philosophy towards our fellow men is completely compatible with the proper treatment of mental patients."<sup>13</sup> The assignees, then, were not responsible for developing a new theory of treatment. It does seem evident, however, that they tried to put such humane principles into practice in a more thoroughgoing manner than was being done by other groups of workers. Insofar as they achieved this, many patients received better care for the time at least. Likewise the assignees undoubtedly influenced other attendants to some degree, although most of the evidence in this regard is pessimistic. Perhaps the greatest contribution is yet to come, through a carrying of the concern back into their local communities by the conscientious objectors, and through the CPS-born National Mental Health Foundation.

<sup>13</sup>*Gospel Messenger*, October 16, 1943, page 19.

*Administrative Responsibilities*

The responsibilities for the administration of each unit were divided between the superintendent of the institution and an assignee representative known as the assistant director. In general the division of duties provided that the assistant director represent the interests of the men as well as those of the Brethren Service Committee to the institution, to Selective Service, and to other concerned agencies. The assistant director also represented the interests of the assignees to the service committee. In addition he assumed responsibility and leadership for developing such activities as seemed appropriate for the off-duty hours of the men. The superintendent, on the other hand, was officially designated by Selective Service to serve as the director of the unit with the broad responsibility of directing the work assignments and of providing for the maintenance of the assignees. The superintendents generally felt a closer responsibility to Selective Service, for legal reasons, than to either the National Service Board or the Brethren Service Committee.

In more specific terms the superintendent, as the head of the hospital or school, was ultimately responsible for determining the number of men to be allocated to the various ward details and other services within the institution, and for determining the individual assignment of each conscientious objector. Through the facilities of the institution, he provided the members of the unit with living quarters, food, and laundry. Special clothing or uniforms (or a cash allotment in lieu thereof) and a maintenance allowance for the purchase of minor personal items were also furnished the assignees by the hos-

pital or training school. Medical and dental care, compensation insurance, and the transportation expenses for transfer of the unit members were other financial obligations of the using institution.<sup>14</sup> Within this type of special project the superintendent was also responsible for the "discipline" of the group, which marked a modification of the base-camp procedure in which such a function was the responsibility of the church agency.<sup>15</sup> It should also be noted that the superintendent was responsible for the preparation of certain official reports.

In actual practice the superintendent delegated some of his duties to other members of the hospital staff, or to the assistant director, and yet at the same time maintained a rather close surveillance of unit affairs. The amount of such delegation varied, of course, in each project according to the customs of the institution, and the temperaments of the superintendent and the assistant director. In spite of individual variations, however, it seems accurate to characterize the control exercised by the superintendent over the activities of the group as very strong and influential. Through his regulation of work assignments and transfers of personnel to and from the institution, and through the living quarters and other facilities of the hospital which he made available to the group, he proved a potent factor in determining the course of unit life.

The specific duties of the assistant director involved a number of different activities. In the first place, he

<sup>14</sup>The obligation of compensation insurance was not fulfilled in some instances. Illustrative of this failure is the case of one assignee who contracted tuberculosis during his hospital work, but who received no adjustment for his disability. At some institutions the men felt the medical and dental care to be inadequate.

<sup>15</sup>The responsibilities of the several parties are outlined in *Administrative Instructions* 1, 3, and 4, issued by Selective Service.

performed a large amount of the office work necessary to the administration of the unit. Generally, he kept the records needed for the several official reports which went to Selective Service, the National Service Board, and the Brethren Service Committee, and submitted these periodically. He also gathered data on the assignees requesting transfer to hospital or training school service, and worked in close relation with the superintendent in the selection of new personnel. As a representative of the conscientious objectors, he was responsible for placing many of their concerns before the superintendent and thus was in a position to influence working relations greatly. In fact, much of the progress of the unit depended on how well the assistant director could negotiate with the head of the institution. In developing a program of activities for the off-duty hours of the men the assistant director relied heavily on leadership from within the group. Rather than dominating such events, he served chiefly to stimulate interest and to provide such facilities as he could muster by virtue of his position. As the units increased in size it became necessary to place some of his responsibilities with others. Usually this came about with selection of an educational secretary, whose primary responsibilities were to the off-duty program. Since the assistant director and the educational secretary were assignees, they were granted time for their work through an overhead system comparable in kind to that used in the base camps. Few units were large enough to allow more than two men for such work, however, in contrast to the larger overhead quotas in the camps.

Assignees who served as assistant directors in the mental hospitals and training schools were: Joseph Ablett (Co-



lumbus), Raymond Bebee (Mansfield), John Bowman (Newtown), Channing Briggs (Norwich), D. K. Christenberry (Colony), Charles Davis (Ft. Steilacoom), Ralph Delk (Mansfield), Stanley Dotterer (Newtown), Robert Elliott (Sykesville), Lloyd Hall (Ft. Steilacoom), Marvin Hanson (Newtown), Jarrott Harkey (Norwich), Dean Hoefle (Norwich), Evan Hollingsworth (Marion), Murl Huffman (Norwich), Donald Hursh (Cambridge), Alfred Johnson (Buckley), Edwin Keller (Sykesville), Marvin Kline (Cambridge), William Lowden (Marion), Ray Mahaffey (Sykesville), Allan Neubauer (Lyons), Vernon Nichols (Marion), Roland Ortmayer (Buckley), Charles Pieh (Sykesville), Dr. Charles Pyke (Cambridge), Alfred Rath (Lyons), Lowell Rife (Cambridge), Forest Shively (Columbus), Loren Simpson (Colony), Paul Sollenberger (Dayton), Vernon Stinebaugh (Dayton), Richard Tuttle (Buckley), F. Nelson Underwood (Augusta), George Vician (Sykesville), Lewis Watkins (Norwich), Clyde Weaver (Augusta), and Lowell Wright (Marion).

The Brethren Service Committee was also represented in the administration of the units through its area supervisors. These men, as salaried agents of the church group, counseled and aided the assistant director in his duties, and when particularly difficult problems arose, took an active part in helping solve them. Because some of the superintendents seemed more willing to negotiate with them than with the assistant directors, the area supervisors played an important part in the administration of the projects. Characteristically, however, their role was confined to helping with larger issues of policy rather than with day-to-day supervision.

In considering the dual administration of these proj-



ects, with its division of responsibilities between the using institutions and the service committee, there is noticeable a gradual change in the relationships developed between the two through the years of operation. During the first several months there seemed to be a lack of willingness on the part of several superintendents to recognize the place of the service committee in the program. They tended to ignore the church agencies and to deal directly with Selective Service, and with the men as individuals rather than as members of a CPS group. Assistant directors were given little or no time to care for the concerns of the men or the service committee. In time, however, this situation changed until the respective fields of function as outlined above came to be accepted as the usual division of responsibilities. In fact, in the later years some of the superintendents delegated many of their duties to the assistant director. There is no doubt, however, that the control and influence of the superintendent over the hospital units was very large, even to the end of the program. Compared to the project superintendents of the base camp, the hospital and training school superintendents played a much more significant part in determining the total experience of the conscientious objectors under their supervision.

Beyond the problems already mentioned as present in the administration of the hospital and training school units were several others of importance, especially to the assignees involved. Among them were those related to transfer, outside work, and living outside of institutional quarters.

Transfer to other CPS projects from these units was often difficult because many of the superintendents would

not release men until they were assured of adequate replacements. On the other hand, the supply of such replacements was often very low, especially as additional projects were established and old quotas were raised, for under such conditions practically all the men interested in and capable of hospital or training school service were so placed, and consequently few applicants were left on a "waiting list." At the same time many of those remaining in base camps felt themselves unsuited to work on wards with mentally unbalanced patients. This factor of unsuitability was also recognized by the using agencies, who were unwilling to accept applicants without carefully examining their records and backgrounds, and estimating the chances for a successful adjustment to the difficult conditions of the wards. Finally, at various times, Selective Service withheld approval upon transfers to hospitals (and other projects). This was especially true during the months of high fire hazard in the national parks and forests, at which time base-camp members were "frozen" in their assignments. The particular problem presented by the inability of the men to transfer from the hospitals and training schools arose mainly from the trying conditions of ward work, and the long working days. After several months of such service some of the men felt exhausted and desired other assignments in order to recuperate. Some also wished to apply for special openings which would use more profitably their training and abilities, or which would allow them opportunities for personal advantages.

A second difficult problem for the assignees stemmed from the restrictions placed on "outside work" by Selective Service. Since most of the hospitals were located

in areas where part-time work was frequently available, many of the conscientious objectors sought employment during their off-duty hours. For a number of them such work was their only source of income beyond the small monthly allowance (ten to fifteen dollars) provided by the hospital. The financial problem was particularly acute for those men with families to support, for although the service committee offered some assistance in the form of dependency grants,<sup>16</sup> such resources were limited, and many of the men were unwilling to ask the church for help. When in February 1945 Selective Service issued a ban on such outside work as was not approved by their national headquarters, the assignees faced a difficult situation. In order to comply with the regulation it was necessary for them to leave their jobs and await approval by Selective Service, an approval which was sometimes not forthcoming, or which came only after a considerable length of time.

A third problem faced by the assignees was related to the practice, initiated by some, of living off the grounds of the institution. Generally these men rented rooms or suitable dwellings near the hospital, and brought their families to live with them. When the day's work was finished they returned to their homes instead of using the quarters provided by the hospital. Although the practice was contrary to a strict interpretation of a long-standing regulation,<sup>17</sup> it was not until February 1945 that a sweeping change was made in the application of the rule. At that time the regulation was reiterated and a concerted effort made to secure compliance. As a

<sup>16</sup>See page 399.

<sup>17</sup>See *Administrative Instructions* 1, 3, and 4.

result many of the arrangements for maintaining family units together were broken. Although the new instructions extended some hope that outside living arrangements might be approved, such approval was difficult or impossible to secure.

The living quarters provided the assignees by a hospital were much the same as those provided the regular employees who lived within the institution. Perhaps the most significant difference was that some effort was made to locate the conscientious objector group together, in adjacent rooms or a single building, rather than dispersing them to widely separate areas. In general the sleeping rooms had beds for two or more persons and the usual furniture and closets. The quality of the rooms varied greatly from hospital to hospital; in some instances the quarters were clean, light and spacious, and in others quite small and dingy. In addition to the sleeping rooms there was usually a room for the use of the CPS group that combined the functions of a library, lounge, and recreation and meeting hall. Such other resources as the hospital possessed — auditoriums, tennis courts, shops, gymnasiums, libraries, and similar facilities — were usually available to the assignees on the same basis as to other employees. It should be noted that many of the wives of the men were able to secure employment at the hospital as regular workers, and so were permitted to live within the institution. In such cases the man and his wife were able to live together in a room in the section reserved by the hospital for employed couples.

Meals were provided for the conscientious objectors in the same manner as for the regular employees doing similar work. A large dining room was used in common.

The organization of the members of the projects into functioning units was established along relatively simple lines, and did not involve as complex procedures as in the base camps. The head of the assignee group was the assistant director, who, in the first months of the program, was appointed by the Brethren Service Committee, subject more or less to the approval of the hospital superintendent. In the later years, the office was filled through the conference method of selection.<sup>18</sup> Working closely with the assistant director was the education secretary, elected by the members of the unit, and usually the only other member of the "overhead," or CPS staff. Together these two, each in his special field, represented the unit in the official relationships developed with the Elgin office, Selective Service, the superintendents, and the National Service Board.

Supplementing the work of the assistant director and the education secretary were such interest groups or committees as were formed to care for special phases of unit life. These functioned especially in those activities that were developed within the CPS unit and which bore little or no relation to others than the assignees themselves. Thus most of the hospital projects had the equivalent of a recreation committee, an education committee, and a religious-life committee as well as a steering committee or council to co-ordinate the unit program. A simple meeting together of all the assignees—including, usually, the wives—was held from time to time to consider various matters, and the decision of this meeting were regarded as the expression of the will of the group.

<sup>18</sup>Page 412 describes the "conference method" of selection.

Among the members of each unit there was apparent a fairly close-knit community of interests. Group spirit was especially strong as the unit faced various problems related to their opposition to war and to the conditions of their service in mental hospitals. There were not, however, as many opportunities for unit activities as in the base camps or some of the other special projects. Among the chief factors hindering such developments were the long working days, separate living quarters, the opportunities for outside work, the different hours of work,<sup>19</sup> and the competition offered by the recreational, educational, and religious facilities available in the near-by urban centers.

There were relatively few educational activities of a formal nature conducted by the hospital CPS units. From time to time, it is true, there were formed among the assignees various classes or groups that met regularly to pursue definite courses of study, and that persevered in carrying the work through to completion. Such efforts were sporadic, however, and represented exceptions to the general course of unit affairs. In most instances the desires of the men for the formal routines of study seemed best met in ways other than intra-unit endeavors.

Perhaps the most effective of the efforts of the men to secure a formal type of education came through their contacts with the established institutions of the cities and towns adjacent to their place of work. Several individual members of the various projects were able to enroll in near-by schools and colleges for regularly accredited classwork, and in this way achieved significant

<sup>19</sup>Although most of the men worked a day shift, some were assigned to night duty.

results. The numbers desiring and able to participate in such activities were never very large, however, and included only a small percentage of the total group. Of the several Brethren units, that at Dayton, Ohio, seemed particularly eager to work in this manner. During the fall of 1945, for example, five members of that unit were enrolled at institutions within the city—two at the University of Dayton, two at the YMCA College, and one at the Miami-Jacobs College.<sup>20</sup>

Formal education was also developed by a few assignees through work with correspondence schools.

Supplementing the more formal educational endeavors described, which in the final analysis affected but a small portion of the assignee population, were a series of activities that reached more of the group and contributed effectively to educational growth. Chief among these was the practice developed of inviting various leaders to visit the projects and speak on subjects of special interest. Through the resources of the local communities, and through the help of the Elgin office, each unit was able to enjoy many such visitors.

Also contributory to the educational program were the courses offered by some of the hospitals for the purpose of introducing their personnel to the various practices and problems of institutional routine. Although the merit of these training courses varied from place to place, and although they were ineffective at some institutions, at others they were most worth while. The value of the best of these courses was further enhanced by the opportunities present for supplementing such study with the practical experiences offered by the daily work.

<sup>20</sup>Educational report, Dayton, September-October 1945, page 1.



Meanwhile, perhaps the most widespread educational efforts were carried forward by small groups of assignees who met together in an informal way to study and discuss topics of particular interest to them. Generally such groups formed around one member with some background in the subject, and under his leadership undertook to increase their knowledge. Reading and group discussion were the usual methods of procedure in such instances. Although meetings of this sort often suffered heavily through irregular attendance, and through failure to carry the study through to a conclusion, a great deal of effective educational growth undoubtedly resulted. The natural interest of the participants in their subject provided a most favorable environment for the learning process. Practically all the hospital projects developed several such interest groups over their periods of operation. Topics studied included co-operatives, abnormal psychology, psychiatry, peace planning, conscription, radio, Bible, pacifism, and many others.

Finally, it should be noted that a number of conscientious objectors maintained individual study programs with more or less regularity, relying mainly on the libraries and other facilities near by.

Recreational events were undoubtedly the most popular and well attended of all the various unit activities. Because so much of the hospital work involved mental strain, and because the work days were long, most of the assignees favored this type of program rather than the more demanding educational pursuits. Especially attractive to the hospital workers after a long day on the ward were outdoor activities such as picnics or various games and sports, including volleyball, football, tennis,



swimming, hiking, cycling, basketball, skating, and many others. Indoor activities included movies, photography, bowling, table tennis, crafts, and music in all forms. Sooner or later most of the hospital units established contacts with near-by church groups or pacifist friends and organizations and enjoyed many hours of friendship in their company. The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the young people's groups from the churches especially provided opportunities for recreation and fellowship, as well as a sense of union with the larger world beyond the confines of the hospital or training school.

Most of the hospital projects utilized the churches of the near-by communities for the development of religious services, rather than initiating extensive programs within the unit. Generally the assignees were well received by the local groups and were able to find adequate expression of their religious interests. Beyond simple attendance at the Sunday or midweek services, some of the men assisted in the choirs and Sunday schools and assumed other similar responsibilities.

Although attendance at the established churches was the main point of emphasis for the hospital assignees, there were developed from time to time some excellent unit-sponsored activities. These were characteristically sporadic in growth and attendance, however, at one period springing up and finding enthusiastic support, and at another being abandoned. (Some units, of course, were able to maintain a more constant development.) Usually such activities centered around a small group interested in Bible study, or a period of meditation and worship, or an evening service of an informal nature. In a few instances assignees functioned as hospital chaplains.

Since there were many different denominations represented among the assignees of Brethren CPS, and since the variety of backgrounds presented some difficulties in arranging meetings of value for all participants, the efforts of the Augusta hospital unit to meet this perplexing situation seem worth noting. The problem as they saw it, and the attempted solution, are well stated in the religious activity report of this unit.

Our . . . problem was, How shall we arrange meetings that will be of value to all the unit members, with the various kinds of religious affiliation and background represented? (When our tenth man arrived, we had men from ten different states, ranging from seventh grade in school to four years of graduate schooling; and there were nearly ten different denominations represented.)

Our solution to the problem . . . was that we should not only try to get around our differences but to capitalize on them. That is, we would try to *share with each other* what we found in our religious experience. Thus, we set up a plan whereby we would take turns in being responsible for an evening's service; and we stressed the fact that no matter who was in charge, it was *his* meeting . . . .

It would not be accurate to say that this plan has been 100% successful. There has not been the richness or the variety that might have been hoped for . . . . But many of us feel that we get a great deal from this kind of worshipful sharing.<sup>21</sup>

### *Special Activities*

Each CPS unit, in addition to developing a common series of activities along the general lines indicated in the preceding paragraphs, also developed individual projects which distinguished them from the other assignee groups. Without attempting an exhaustive listing of such distinctive features, some that seem particularly outstanding and that offer insight into the activities and

<sup>21</sup>Religious activity report, Augusta, May-June 1944, page 1.

interests of the World War II conscientious objectors can be indicated briefly. Among these are: (1) the jaundice experiment at Norwich; (2) the pacifist information center at Fort Steilacoom; and (3) the relief drives at Lyons.

The jaundice experiment at Norwich was undertaken in the summer of 1944, and involved eleven men assigned to that hospital. This group of volunteers submitted to infection with the disease in order that it might be studied in all its manifestations, and with the hope that they might contribute to the discovery of its cure or control. The experiment is described by two of the subjects in the following words:

Within two weeks after receiving our second inoculation I came down with fever and chills . . . . After six days I was transferred for special isolation care . . . . Here, because I had lost my appetite and could eat very little, I was given my first infusion, an intravenous feeding . . . .

All told I stayed in bed forty days.<sup>22</sup>

The first two weeks with Infectious Hepatitis were the hardest. . . . The uncomfortable moments consisted of headaches, sore eyes, fever, tender abdomens, sore chests and all-around discomforts, to say nothing of the fact that we were too nauseated to eat much of the time. All of this came in the first two weeks, generally speaking. After that it was a matter of gaining back our strength and losing our infectiousness and "yellow" color.

We certainly got good care . . . and could not complain of lack of attention.

After we became stronger through rest and good hospital food we were better able to enjoy our days of leisure.

One of the major satisfactions we got out of submitting to this experiment is knowing that what we were going through was to mean that perhaps a great many other people would be spared the same thing as a result . . . . If our efforts have accomplished some-

<sup>22</sup>F. Kuszmaul, "Concerning Some Bile and a Rubber Tube," *This Issue*, December 1944, page 11. *This Issue* was the unit newssheet.

thing in this direction we may be pardoned for feeling that at last we have done something of *international* importance.<sup>23</sup>

In the following spring a somewhat similar experiment was undertaken for research with the disease, infectious mononucleosis. Four Norwich assignees participated in this experiment.

The pacifist information center was organized in February 1944 by a group seeking to achieve through such a project two distinct goals. These were: (1) the development of "unity in pacifist ranks so that the full impact of the pacifist movement can be brought to bear on the public in those areas and at those times when public opinion is most receptive . . ."; and (2) "acquainting the public with pacifist principles, methods, and accomplishments by . . . effective means of information and education . . . ." <sup>24</sup> Although the center was initiated and sustained chiefly by the conscientious objectors of the Fort Steilacoom, Washington, hospital, it was their hope that ultimately the active co-operation and support of pacifists from all walks of life might be secured.

Four separate, though related, areas of activity were projected by the group as the core of their program. Two of these were developed in rather complete fashion, while two remained unfinished in spite of many weeks and months of effort. The first of the four concerned the development of a library section at the center. As a result of activity in this field there was established at the Fort Steilacoom unit an excellent research collection of pacifist books, pamphlets, and periodicals. At the same time this section maintained a "reader's guide" service

<sup>23</sup>Asa Mundell, "On Being a Real Guinea Pig," *ibid.*, page 10.

<sup>24</sup>Victor Langford, "Pacifist Information Center," *Viewpoint*, II, 1 (April 12, 1945), page 7.

for those desiring references from pacifist periodicals on any subject, or seeking to locate a particular article of interest. A further service was established with the development of a plan by which the center undertook to locate for prospective purchasers pacifist books which were out of print.

A second area of activity concerned *Viewpoint*, a mimeographed publication, edited and produced by the pacifist information center. The aim of this paper was to present articles of general interest to pacifist readers. At least twelve issues were published between the adoption of the project by the center and the close of unit operations. *Viewpoint* was consistently one of the best of the Brethren CPS publications, presenting as it did a mature outlook, and well-written articles of immediate concern to its readers.

The two ventures which failed to come to a final fruition were the publication of a quarterly magazine, *Trend Today*, and the publication of a booklet designed to explain pacifism. *Trend Today* was planned to provide up-to-date information on all fields in which pacifists were active, and thus to serve as an organ for presenting the pacifist movement in its entirety. The booklet was intended to explain pacifism with reference to its immediate past, present, and future.

Two relief drives were conducted by the assignees stationed at the Lyons, New Jersey, hospital. In each case the group contribution reached a significant sum, significant especially in view of the fact that the men received no pay for their daily hospital work. The first campaign was undertaken to raise money to buy heifers for the heifers-for-relief program of the Church of the Brethren. Ap-

proximately \$178.00 was collected for this purpose in the summer of 1945.<sup>25</sup> The second campaign was undertaken to raise money to purchase dried milk for European relief. In December 1945 the unit sent approximately \$276.00 to the service committee to be used in this manner.<sup>26</sup>

### *Community Relations and Achievements*

The relations of the conscientious objectors to the other institutional workers and to the citizens of the near-by communities ranged from fair to good. Usually, after a somewhat unsettled first period, the assignees were accepted by the majority of the regular employees in a tolerant manner, with perhaps a few exceptions among the more active supporters of the war. Within the communities the men established many friendly contacts, particularly with church groups and pacifist sympathizers. From time to time, it is true, there were occasional incidents or outbursts against individuals or a group, but such represented exceptions to the normal course of events.

Perhaps the best estimates of the worth of the CPS projects from the point of view of work performance can be had from the reports of the hospital and training school officials. In general these sources indicate that the units filled a great need and that the quality of the work was good. Some problems of administration and personnel were pointed out by various superintendents, but the dominant theme of their evaluations was that the units served in an extremely helpful manner. A letter from

<sup>25</sup>Figures taken from the Lyons newssheet, *This Week*, August 12, 1945.

<sup>26</sup>Figures taken from *This Week*, December 29, 1945.

the manager of the Lyons hospital describes the relation of the conscientious objector group to that institution and their work with the war veteran patients.

At the time of my advent here as manager, June 1, 1945, much of the early misunderstanding and friction had been ironed out and my relations with both Mr. Rath and his successor, Mr. Allan Neubauer have been most pleasant and satisfactory. The unit has performed a most valuable function to this Hospital and, undoubtedly, has saved many veterans' lives . . . .<sup>27</sup>

The superintendent of the Columbus hospital analyzed CPS experience there in the following terms:

In any group of forty-five men you will find a certain percentage of excellent workers, a percentage of fair workers and a certain number of no good. We had a few of the . . . [latter] type in this unit . . . you had to keep prodding them along.

In regard to the work performed, I wish to say that I do not know how on earth we would have operated without their assistance. The employment situation here had gone beyond the stage of being critical. Week in and week out we had many wards, particularly at night, without service of an attendant. I think it was miraculous that we came through without any major tragedy.

A great many of the men in the unit were most faithful and loyal to their work. They took their work seriously. They made many contributions to the humanistic side of attendant care. Their kind and sympathetic approach to the patients set a very good example to a number of the old line attendants who felt their duty more in the sense of a guard than in the sense of a helper. A few of these men after discharge remained here in the service and are doing very good work.<sup>28</sup>

### *The Mental Hygiene Program of CPS*

One of the most lasting and significant of developments among the hospital and training school units was

<sup>27</sup>Letter from H. E. Foster to Lewis F. Kosch, June 12, 1946.

<sup>28</sup>Letter from J. F. Bateman to Lewis F. Kosch, June 5, 1946.



the mental hygiene program of CPS. Essentially this program was a nation-wide voluntary association of CPS men assigned to mental hospitals and training schools for the general purpose of improving patient care. Their organizational structure was quite simple. A small central committee located in Philadelphia served to co-ordinate and direct over-all efforts and planning. Through them the contributions of each local unit were adapted to the larger national effort. Within each co-operating CPS project the assignees interested in the program usually met together as a group to discuss and plan their activities, maintaining contact with the central committee through a secretary or co-ordinator of their own choosing. All assignees of the local units were invited to participate in the venture. Originally the four members of the central group had been able to devote only their off-duty hours to the program, but in November 1944 Selective Service approved their transfer from regular hospital assignments to a special status whereby they were able to spend full time on the work.<sup>29</sup>

The mental hygiene program of CPS was open to men from all units—Brethren, Friend, Mennonite, and others—and found support from all alike. The major expenses of the program were borne by the three peace churches, although other individuals and groups contributed from time to time.

The aims of the mental hygiene program were broad in outlook. As expressed in one of the many publications of the group, the men associated with the endeavor strove for three interrelated goals:

<sup>29</sup>Selective Service approved assignment of seven additional men to the central committee in the latter part of 1945, and one additional in the spring of 1946.



We seek to improve the quality of our own work.

We seek to help public institutions . . . .

We seek to promote a deeper public understanding of institutional needs and problems.

In an attempt to make a contribution . . . we have united our efforts in the Mental Hygiene Program of Civilian Public Service.<sup>30</sup>

To reach these goals the leaders of the program developed projects in several fields of concern, including an exchange service, publication of *The Attendant*, research into institutional practices and conditions, legal research, publication of a series of handbooks, and a program of general public education.

The exchange service consisted of a series of papers contributed by individual workers and circulated to all units through the facilities of the central office. In this way techniques and ideas developed by any one associate could be shared with all others. Generally the materials were such as would be helpful to the CPS men in their daily work. Topics discussed in the series included suggestions for recreational programs, methods of handling patients, techniques proved useful in meeting typical ward problems, bibliographies, research results, and many other similar items. A special series was prepared to help interpret the problems of institutional work to men in base camps.

*The Attendant* was "a monthly publication concerned with ideas, attitudes and methods which are directly related to work in mental hospitals and training schools."<sup>31</sup> It strove to "relate the knowledge and experience of professionals to concrete problems of institutional work,

<sup>30</sup>*The Mental Hygiene Program of Civilian Public Service* (a four-page leaflet), page 1.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, page 2. In January 1946, *The Attendant* became *The Psychiatric Aid*, and is now published under this title.

to serve as a medium through which attendants may share with one another the results of their experiences . . . .”<sup>32</sup> By February of 1946, this periodical was being circulated far beyond the confines of the CPS system to include every Federal, state, and local institution in the United States and its territories, and several private mental institutions.

Research into prevailing conditions and practices of mental hospitals and training schools was developed chiefly through local unit members. In response to specific questions from the central committee these men prepared descriptions of the facilities and routines of the institutions in which they worked. The materials thus collected—over one thousand, two hundred reports—constituted a very reliable and comprehensive source of information. From a study and analysis of this data the associates felt they could achieve a more understanding and basic approach to their goal of better patient care. The reports also were looked upon as valuable for use in acquainting the public with problems of mental health.

Legal research developed by the mental hygiene program of CPS consisted primarily of surveys of Federal and state laws governing the commitment and care of individuals to mental institutions. Briefs of the laws of several states were compiled and made available to legislatures, administrators, social workers, and other concerned parties. A preliminary draft of a model mental health law was also compiled.

For institutional workers and students a series of handbooks were begun including an orientation *Handbook for Psychiatric Aids*, a *Handbook on Restraint*, a *Hand-*

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

*book of Activity Therapy, a Handbook for Training School Attendants and a Recreation Handbook for Training Schools.*

The program of public education was carried forward chiefly through the publication of pamphlets designed to explain in simple language some of the basic facts of mental health and institutional care. Among these were George Thorman's Public Affairs Pamphlet, *Toward Mental Health*, and *Forgotten Children*—the story of mental deficiency.

The work begun by the mental hygiene program of CPS was not discontinued with demobilization, but has been carried on with sustained vigor by the leaders of the movement. The organization now includes many citizens of national prominence among its sponsors—Harry Emerson Fosdick, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rufus M. Jones, Reinhold Niebuhr and others. M. R. Zigler, of the Brethren Service Committee, is a member of the board of directors.

Although the organizational structure was necessarily changed as the CPS units were closed, the motivating spirit has remained the same. Under the name of the National Mental Health Foundation the central leaders are continuing their efforts to provide better for the mental health of the nation. The efforts give promise of achieving far-reaching results.

## CHAPTER 7

### Agricultural Units

The Brethren Service Committee administered several special projects whose work was primarily agricultural in nature. These can be classified by type as:

1. Dairy farm assignments
2. Dairy testing assignments
3. Agricultural college and experiment station units
4. Soil conservation units (other than base camps)

In terms of numbers of assignees engaged, these projects represented a significant portion of the total Brethren CPS program. At their peak of development, in October 1945, they employed four hundred seventy men, a number equal to twenty-four per cent of the total BCPS population, which at that time was one thousand, nine hundred seventy-three.<sup>1</sup> Among the several factors contributing to the emphasis upon agricultural work in Brethren CPS, two seemed particularly significant. First, the need for labor to assist in food production was very great during the war years; and second, the Brethren as a group were primarily rural in their backgrounds and felt such projects particularly appropriate to their administration.

<sup>1</sup>Figures taken from NSBRO form No. 114, October 1, 1945. If all agricultural service in Brethren CPS is to be considered, it is necessary to take into account the Soil Conservation Service base camps of Lagro and Magnolia; and the emergency farm labor program (page 92 above) as well as these special projects.

## DAIRY FARM ASSIGNMENTS

One of the first special agricultural projects developed under Brethren administration was the dairy farm assignment. This was an arrangement whereby individual men were detailed to work on privately owned dairy farms on a year-round basis to assist in milk production in areas of critical labor shortage. The program began with a small group of nine men assigned to one New York county in May 1942, and grew until in August 1945 it employed two hundred six men in a total of twelve counties scattered throughout the states of Oregon, Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup> In a number of ways the dairy farm program differed from other Brethren CPS units. Most important, perhaps, of all the points of difference was the provision whereby the men were assigned to the various farms singly, rather than in larger groups, for from this mode of assignment there developed other differences in regard to the administration and supervision of the program, the living arrangements of the assignees, and the number of activities that could be undertaken as a group with a common allegiance to the way of peace.

*Assignment and Administration*

The counties to which the assignees were sent were those approved by Selective Service and certified by the War Food Administration as important in milk production and as lacking in an adequate supply of dairy farm labor.<sup>3</sup> Usually a quota of twenty assignees were set for

<sup>2</sup>Figures taken from NSBRO form No. 114, August 15, 1945. The Brethren also administered the King County, Washington, dairy farm project for approximately two years, before transferring it to the Mennonites in May 1945.

<sup>3</sup>Prior to July 1943, the United States Department of Agriculture certified the counties. See SSS Administrative Directives Nos. 6, 16, 16 revised, and 20.

each county participating in the dairy farm plan. Following final approval, the general procedure was for the service committee to fill the opening with applicants from the base camps.<sup>4</sup> The responsibility for the selection of the individual farm on which the conscientious objector was to work was that of the county agent,<sup>5</sup> although the conditions of employment and living were usually inspected by a representative of the service committee to insure the maintenance of at least minimum standards of health and safety. The county agent likewise had the authority to transfer men to different farms within the same county without prior approval from Selective Service. Such transfers were usually made with the knowledge of the service committee representative.

The responsibilities of the Brethren Service Committee were cared for through the office of their agent, the area supervisor, and were mainly those of ministering to the welfare of the men, acting as their representative in the adjustment of grievances, securing applicants for the farms, and caring for certain financial arrangements and official records. Because of the large number of conscientious objectors assigned to farms in the eastern region, a special assistant to the area supervisor there was appointed as a director of the dairy farm units. Alfred Chamberlin and William Z. Cline both assisted in this capacity.

The financial arrangements of the dairy farm projects provided for the farmer-employer of the conscientious objector to furnish him with room, board, and laundry,

<sup>4</sup>Men in other special projects were eligible for dairy farm assignments, but the base camps were the main source of applicants.

<sup>5</sup>Prior to July 1943, this was the responsibility of the United States Employment Service working in conjunction with the county war board.

or their equivalent, and to pay to the National Service Board an amount equal to the prevailing wage of the county for the class of help received. From this sum the NSBRO then paid, subject to the approval of Selective Service, certain other expenses of the program, including a fifteen-dollar monthly allowance to the assignee to cover the costs of clothing and minor personal items, medical and dental care, insurance, the transfer cost of bringing the assignee to the county (or if such were necessary, returning him to camp), and an allotment to the service committee of one dollar fifty cents per man per month to help defray the cost of administering the program. The remainder of the money was then turned over to the United States treasury for deposit in the special "frozen fund."<sup>6</sup> Because of these arrangements, the dairy farm program was practically self-supporting. The principal expenditures not covered from the sum paid by the farmer were such medical and dental bills as were disapproved by Selective Service, such administrative costs as exceeded the monthly allotment mentioned, and such grants as were allocated for the dependency needs of the men.

### *Farm Work*

Although the hours and conditions of work and the specific tasks of the men varied from place to place, there was a general similarity in the daily routine of the dairy farmers. They were set to many of the same jobs as would fall to the lot of the hired man on most small dairy farms. Milking, haying, filling silos, doing chores, cleaning barns, hauling manure, feeding cows—these and

<sup>6</sup>The same fund in which the wages from emergency farm labor were impounded.



the many other duties necessary to the operation of a dairy farm were performed by the conscientious objectors as their assigned work. The hours were long—often twelve to fourteen a day—and the work heavy. Since a number of the assignees were experienced farmers, they were able, from a technical standpoint, to do the work effectively.

Some insight into the work on the farms can be gained by considering the following extracts, gathered from a variety of sources. The first is from a letter written by the wife of an assignee, located on a farm in the Pacific Northwest:

Well, now for Jack's work. He is running two double unit milking machines. The boss strips the cows. At present there are fifty-six cows in the herd. In between milkings, they do maintenance work and field work. Next week they will start putting up silage. The milk goes to the cheese factory at Arago. Jack works usually about thirteen hours a day. The schedule goes something like this:

Rising—4:15

Milking, etc.—4:30-9:00

Breakfast—9:00-9:30

Maintenance, etc.—9:30-12:00

Lunch—12:00-1:00

Work—1:00-3:30

Milk—3:30-7:30

Supper—7:45-8:15

Reading, writing, etc.—8:15-9:15 and then to bed.

The work hasn't seemed to bother him, but he is asleep on his feet half of the time. He is certainly hoping he will have a little more time when the fall rains begin. On Saturdays and Sundays he gets from 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. off, but of course he still puts in an eight or eight and a half hour day. However, in spite of the hours we are more than pleased.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Letter to the secretary of Area Supervisor Huston from an assignee wife, June 11, 1945.



A letter from the area supervisor concerning the same general region gives further insight into the work.

The King County Dairy Farm Unit is located in the Seattle Milk Shed. The men are scattered over the county with a distance of thirty-five miles being the widest separation. Wages range from \$100.00 to \$135.00 per month.

The work is primarily with the dairy cows and the milk. In the summer, all of the farms have hay to care for but most of them do not have any row or grain crops. Practically all of the feed, with the exception of the hay, is purchased. The men handle the feed from the car to the cattle.

Bangs Disease is prevalent in almost every herd; therefore all milk must be pasteurized. In general the men deliver the milk to the pasteurizing plant and have little or nothing to do with the bottling or delivery of the milk.<sup>8</sup>

Other letters, written by assignee farmers to their friends in camp, indicate the nature of the work in the midwestern and eastern regions. The following extracts are from the Lyndhurst camp newssheet, *Line-O-Type*:

. . . a good letter from Luther Ott and his wife gives some information on their setup . . . "We are working for a man 71 years of age, and he is the only one living here in the house with us . . . The farm here is composed of 409 acres, but a lot of that is pasture and woodland . . . We have about 60 cows, but are only milking 42 just now . . . So far I think it (dairy farming) is pretty good."

. . . from way up in New York another good letter comes from Brodie Crouch . . . Says he, "I know what the fellows mean when they say there is lots to be done on a dairy farm. We have just finished getting in over eighty big loads of hay, and are in the midst of threshing nearly forty acres of oats . . . When weather permits I usually go to the Christian Church at Monroe, four miles distant, each Sunday night. It is the friendliest place I've attended . . . ."<sup>9</sup>

"It's not too hard work, but long hours . . . This is a \$15,000

<sup>8</sup>Letter, Ora Huston to Carl S. Miller, November 11, 1944.

<sup>9</sup>*Line-O-Type*, September 10, 1943.

house I sleep in . . . Some of these farms produce a ton of milk a day, and some two tons. I never saw so much milk in my life" (Dude Green from N. Y.).

The owner of the farm is no farmer, but we are trying to get things done. By the way, he is a returned Army Major. He told me the other day what he thought about the C. O. It wasn't bad at all" (Blough from N. Y.).<sup>10</sup>

An article written by Levi Ziegler, area supervisor in the eastern region, also describes the dairy farm assignment.

The work of the C.P.S. men on dairy farms consists of milking by hand or machine, cattle feeding, and the other usual dairy barn chores. In the summer time they also plow, plant, and harvest. Crops on dairy farms vary. Hay making and growing corn for silage are important jobs. In the winter dairy barn work is heavier because the cattle are in the barns most of the time.

The dairy farm job is a seven-day-a-week job. Barns need to be cleaned every day, and in winter the stable cleanings are hauled to the field even on Sundays in some sections. By putting forth an extra strong effort the C.P.S. men can get chores done on Sunday in time to go to church. Some difficulty in this regard arises in cases where the employer's family is not interested in church.<sup>11</sup>

Living arrangements for the conscientious objectors on dairy farms were comparable to those usually provided a hired man. For those who were married and who arranged with their employers for permission to bring their wives to the farms, a variety of practices was developed. Sometimes the couple lived in rooms in the farmhouse, and ate with the farmer. In other instances separate apartments or tenant houses were available for the assignee and his family, in which case they usually prepared their own meals. When such an arrangement pre-

<sup>10</sup>*Line-O-Type*, July 29, 1943.

<sup>11</sup>Levi K. Ziegler, July 26, 1944 (a short essay).

vailed, the employer, in lieu of furnishing board, generally furnished an equivalent value in food or cash. Quite often the wife as well as the husband was employed in the work about the farm, but this did not change the legal relationship of the drafted man to his job. Such employment represented a separate agreement between the farmer and the wife upon such terms as were agreeable to both.

For single men, board was usually provided at the employer's table, and lodging at the farmhouse or other suitable quarters.

Because many of the married men were able to secure living quarters for their families at the farm, and because the wives were often able to secure work there, or near by, the dependency needs of these assignees were more largely met from their own resources than would have been possible otherwise. The farm assignment was only a partial solution to the problem of dependency, however, for the struggles of the men to provide food and shelter for their wives and children were generally severe, and at times the assignees were forced to seek supplemental help from others.

There were relatively few possibilities for the men located on the dairy farms to participate in group activities with other conscientious objectors. Located as they were on separate and widely distant farms, with long hours of work and little chance for free-time activities, the assignee-farmers lacked such favorable opportunities for developing a sense of solidarity and a feeling of community as were present in projects where men lived and worked together in close association. The Brethren CPS offices, in an effort to overcome the isolated

position of the men, established a periodic mailing service to each dairy farm worker. The literature included a special publication, *The Dairy Diary*, to which the dairy workers contributed articles; the *Gospel Messenger*; devotional materials; and abstracts of important CPS events. A limited personal visitation program was instituted as well.

Occasional gatherings or picnics were held in the various counties and were well attended and enjoyed, but these were hardly adequate for the development of a deep sense of a common cause.

Some of the problems which arose in the course of the dairy farm program can be mentioned briefly. It should be noted at the outset, however, that because each farm differed from all the others in living conditions, working conditions, and assignee-employer relationships, it is difficult to characterize the program as a whole. Practices and arrangements that became troublesome in one situation were often, at a different farm, a source of satisfaction to all concerned.

Of such problems as arose in the program, the most persistent and widespread seemed to center around the matters of: (1) assignment to and transfer from the various farms within a county, (2) medical care, and (3) working conditions.

The assignment of the men to the individual farms in the county raised two different classes of problems. One centered around the very difficult situation developed in those instances (relatively few) where the farmer-employer, or his family, was actively hostile to the ideal of conscientious objection. Under such circumstances, it was hard to build a workable relationship. The other

problem concerned the placement of men on farms that seemed to be already adequately supplied with labor, or not to have as great a need as others in the district. Some difficulty was also experienced in securing transfers from the farm units to other CPS projects. Because such transfers were usually contingent upon the securance of replacements, and because such replacements were not always readily available, some of the men felt that they were "frozen" in their assignments. This in turn deterred prospective applicants in the base camps from requesting farm work.

The provision of medical care for the assignees likewise raised points of concern among those involved in the program. Where farms were located at some distance from a medical center, and where the transportation facilities were poor, or where only limited time-off was granted for visits to the doctor, it became difficult for the men to obtain prompt and adequate treatment for their ills. A further complication developed in the method adopted for meeting the costs of such treatments. The schedule of fees set by Selective Service as payable from the fund contributed by the farmer was sometimes not sufficient to cover the charges made by the local doctors.

Although the working conditions on the farms varied greatly, most had in common a very long work day ranging to twelve or more hours, and a routine involving at least chores on Sunday. In such arrangements there was little time left for study, recreation, or participation in family and community activities. This was in marked contrast to the base camps and many of the special projects. On some of the farms the employers attempted to

compensate the men for their services by presenting them with gifts of money or goods periodically, since the government officials had ruled that all wages paid for the work of the conscientious objectors belonged to the government. In other instances, some farmers complained that the assignees demanded such extra rewards.

From the standpoint of the government officials and the using employers, the work accomplished by the assignees in the dairy farm program was generally regarded as a valuable service to the nation and to the individual farmer, in spite of the problems which did occur. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of the worth of the work rendered is furnished by the expansion of the program from its first trial beginning involving only nine men, to its later large-scale organization when the dairy workers numbered over two hundred.<sup>12</sup>

#### DAIRY TESTING ASSIGNMENTS

Dairy testing as a special CPS project administered by the Brethren Service Committee was a plan by which conscientious objectors were assigned to local dairy herd improvement associations to serve as cow testers. These associations, and the work of the tester, have been described by the United States Department of Agriculture:

A typical dairy herd-improvement association is an organization of about 26 dairy farmers who cooperatively employ a man, usually called the tester, to determine the quantity of milk and butterfat produced by each cow in each herd, the cost of feed used in its production, and the income returned per cow; and also to keep a record of the information obtained.

<sup>12</sup>The dairy farm assignment is suggestive of the "farm furlough" of the First World War. There are, however, some very basic differences. In 1917-18 the men were under the direct control of the army, and they were allowed to keep a portion of the wages which they earned. Furthermore, the "farm furlough" was not developed primarily for conscientious objectors.

The primary purpose of an association is to afford the members an economical method of obtaining information they can use in improving the efficiency of their herds. The records of production, feed, cost, and income enable the herd owner to cull out the unprofitable cows, to feed the rest according to their production requirements, and to select individual animals in the herd that are the most suitable for breeding up the inherent producing ability of the herd.

Dairy herd-improvement associations are organized and operated as agricultural extension projects under the supervision of State extension dairymen and county agricultural agents in cooperation with the Bureau of Dairy Industry.<sup>13</sup>

Dairy testing under Brethren administration was first undertaken in the spring of 1943, in the state of New Jersey, with nine testers participating. From this beginning the work was expanded until in August 1945 a total of one hundred twelve men were engaged in such activity in the states of Illinois, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, New Jersey, and New York.<sup>14</sup>

In the operation of this project the men selected were given special training for the work. Generally such instruction was under the direction of the official in charge of dairy testing for the state involved.<sup>15</sup> Following the completion of the training period, each man was assigned to one of the individual associations in need of his services.

### *The Dairy Tester's Routine*

The daily routine of the dairy tester has been well described in the *Dairy Diary*.

<sup>13</sup>J. F. Kendrick, *The Cow Tester's Manual* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940), page 1.

<sup>14</sup>Figures taken from NSBRO form No. 114, August 15, 1945.

<sup>15</sup>At one time Camp Lagro conducted a course in dairy testing which was successfully completed by several campers, and which was officially approved by the extension dairyman of Purdue University.



In the typical D.H.I.A. [dairy herd improvement association] the tester visits each farmer once a month and under Selective Service a month means 26 days of work. The testing of a herd of 30 cows is considered a day's work although this varies. . . . As a rule he arrives at the farm early in the afternoon and remains until about the same time the following day unless he has . . . [a larger herd] and must remain another day or two.

Following is a brief description of one day's schedule for a . . . [tester] and also some of the work involved:

(1) The tester plans to arrive at the farm early enough so as not to cause any delay in the evening milking.

(2) He . . . [carries] with him many items of equipment such as a milk-scale, a 24-bottle Babcock tester or centrifuge . . . .

(3) . . . [He weighs or measures] the grain fed each cow. Also . . . [weighs or estimates] the roughage fed each. These weights are immediately recorded . . . .

(4) By this time the farmer is probably ready to start his milking procedure proper. As each cow is milked, her milk is weighed [and sampled] and the weight recorded.

(5) The grain mixture being fed is recorded. Also . . . the prices of ingredients and of the various roughages fed.

(6) The tester obtains and records the dates when any cows were turned dry or when any freshened since the last visit. [He also records data on any sale or purchase of cows.]

(7) Then he goes with the farmer to the house for the evening meal. Afterwards he obtains the price being paid this farmer for his milk. He also discusses herd problems with him. If there is more time left he may work on back work, identification reports or records before he . . . [retires] for the night in a bed assigned him usually at the farm home.

(8) In the morning he arises early enough to be at the barn again in time for the milking. This varies from 4:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. He again weighs each cow's milk, records that weight and takes a sample to add to the one taken in the evening before to make a composite sample.

(9) Usually then he eats breakfast, after which he tests these samples for their butterfat content.



(10) He fills out the barn sheet which is usually the longest part of the work. The night and morning milk weights are added for each cow. . . . Then the value of this milk is computed and compared with the cost computed of feed to find the value of the produce above or below feed costs.

(11) All this data is then copied into the herd-record book which is left with the farmer for his study and dairy management.

(12) By the time all the above work is completed, it is about mid-afternoon and time to pack and leave this farm for the next. Of course, there are identification and production reports to fill out and send occasionally to the State Dairymen. These records are sent on to the Bureau of Dairy Industry at Washington, D.C., and recorded for use in proving sires and finding sources of good breeding stock.<sup>16</sup>

### *Administration and Supervision*

The work of the assignees was supervised by the officials of each dairy herd improvement association, the county agricultural agent, and the state extension dairyman in charge of the dairy herd improvement association program. For the services rendered, each association paid to the National Service Board a sum equal to the prevailing wage of the area and provided to the conscientious objector room, board, and transportation from herd to herd, or an equivalent value. The National Service Board in turn paid, subject to Selective Service approval, certain expenses of the program from the money remitted by the associations, including the costs of transportation to and from the dairy herd improvement association project, insurance, medical care and hospitalization, administrative expenses of \$1.50 per man per month, and an allowance of \$15.00 monthly to each assignee to pro-

<sup>16</sup>Eldon Strausbaugh, "The D.H.I.A. Supervisor," *The Dairy Diary*, II, 1, (January 1944), page 5 ff.

vide clothing and personal needs. The balance remaining was deposited in the frozen fund.

The responsibilities of the Brethren Service Committee in this project were cared for in much the same manner as in the dairy farm project. Their chief representative in each region was the area supervisor, assisted in the eastern states by the director of farm units. The area supervisor was mainly responsible for ministering to the welfare of the men, acting as their representative in the adjustment of grievances, preparing many official reports and accounts, and establishing a working relationship with the dairy herd improvement association officials.

Although the living arrangements of the assignees varied in detail from place to place, they had in common some general features. Basically the men secured for themselves such lodgings as fitted their needs, and used these as their headquarters. When the distance from the farm to their establishment was not excessive, they often returned there at the end of the day's work. In other instances they remained overnight on the farm.

Since, in dairy testing, the men were assigned to their work singly, as in the dairy farm program, the major opportunities for them to participate in group activities with others of like mind were limited to the occasional gatherings or picnics sponsored by the testers and the farmers of the district. As a result, in this project also there was a lack of a group community of interests.

The Brethren CPS dairy testing program was generally well received by those with whom the projects were established. The correspondence of the area supervisors' offices indicates a sense of satisfaction with the quality and worth of the testing performed. Illustrative of this esti-

mate is the evaluation of J. G. Cash, state official in charge of the Illinois dairy testers. Writing to Selective Service, he reported:

The Conscientious Objectors that are being used as Dairy Herd Improvement Association testers in the state of Illinois have been well received by the dairymen and are doing satisfactory work. The records made available to dairy farmers through the services of these men are being used in a program for maximum milk production . . . .<sup>17</sup>

In a similar vein, Franklin A. McLean, a Selective Service officer, had characterized the job performance of the assignees in New Jersey as "good work" and "entirely satisfactory."<sup>18</sup>

#### AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AND EXPERIMENT STATION UNITS

Four special projects were administered by the Brethren Service Committee in co-operation with agricultural colleges and universities. These were: CPS No. 112 of Michigan State College; CPS No. 113 of the University of Minnesota; CPS No. 116 of the University of Maryland; and CPS No. 146 of Cornell University. All four were developed upon a common plan of organization by which the responsibilities for the direction of the unit were shared between the college and the Brethren Service Committee.

The college, as the using agency, was primarily responsible for the supervision and development of the work project, and was represented by a faculty member, who, as director, held a position analagous to that of the project superintendent of the base camp. Through him

<sup>17</sup>Letter of J. G. Cash to Lewis F. Kosch of Selective Service, December 29, 1944.

<sup>18</sup>Report of F. A. McLean, of Selective Service, of his visit to New Jersey, October 25, 1943, page 2.

the college outlined the plan of work, and co-ordinated the various aspects of the program. He in turn delegated the daily supervision of the assignees to the heads of the departments and stations using the men.

In addition to assuming the supervision of the daily work of the men, the college further assumed the basic financial responsibilities for the program. Each month they appropriated an amount equal to the prevailing wage of the area for the type of job filled and disbursed it in the following manner. The expenses of room, board, and laundry were paid to the parties concerned. The remainder was then forwarded to the NSBRO, which in turn, subject to Selective Service approval, paid from this fund certain other project expenses. Among these were: a monthly allowance of fifteen dollars to each man to cover the cost of clothing and miscellaneous personal expenses; accident insurance; medical care; dental treatment; transportation for transfer to and/or from the project; and other minor items. The balance was then sent to the United States Treasury, where it was impounded in the frozen fund.

In the assignment of the men to their individual tasks no attempt was made to keep the group together as a working unit. Rather, they were dispersed to the several departments and stations to take their places alongside the regularly employed personnel. This arrangement meant that the working conditions of the assignees, apart from pay and the freedom to leave the job, were much the same as those of the other employees. At least two developments of significance resulted in large part from this manner of procedure. First, the assignees, being in a much more nearly "normal" situation than the men

in other units, had fewer adjustments to make in taking up their CPS work; and second, as has been noted under similar circumstances in other projects, a strong community of interest or bond of group unity was not developed among the members of the project.

Although many of the daily tasks called for only simple manual skills, a number of them required men of advanced training and ability. This was particularly true of some of the laboratory assignments involving background in one or more of the natural sciences. While many of the men were chosen for these projects because they possessed the necessary qualifications beforehand, almost all were able to profit from their work in the sense of developing a fuller knowledge of some phase or phases of modern agricultural methods through their daily assignments.

For the most part the men assigned to the college and experiment station units helped to maintain projects already well developed rather than to initiate new undertakings. In many cases their assistance made it possible for experiments involving observations over a period of

**Table 10**

**Agricultural College and Experiment Station Units**

**Man-days of Project Work<sup>19</sup>**

Michigan State College .....	11,516
University of Minnesota .....	9,832
University of Maryland .....	22,136
Cornell University .....	812

<sup>19</sup>Statistics are taken from Selective Service Form DSS 52.

several years to be continued without interruption. Reports from the colleges to Selective Service indicate that the conscientious objectors were able to render a service of considerable value and that the presence of the unit meant the colleges could continue essential operations on a scale larger than otherwise possible.

The Brethren Service Committee, as the CPS administrative agency, was primarily responsible for those aspects of unit development other than the work project. Their official representative was an assistant director, whose duties corresponded to those of the camp director in the base camp. His responsibilities included the preparation of official reports; representation of the men and the service committee in business transactions; provision for such recreational, educational, and religious programs as seemed fitting; counseling; and the co-ordination of all the other varied aspects of unit life. As in the base camps, some of his responsibilities, but not all, came to be shared by the other members of the unit as the work program progressed.

In contrast with many other Brethren projects, the agricultural college units did not develop an extensive program of educational, religious, and recreational activities as a CPS group. Instead, the individual members sought expressions of these interests outside the unit, and in the already-established organizations of the communities wherein they were located. Religious services in town, use of the educational facilities of the colleges and stations, and recreation through resources of the area served the men in most of their needs of this nature, rather than programs initiated and developed within the units.

*Michigan State College*

In July 1943 the first Brethren project of this type was established on the campus of Michigan State College, East Lansing. There the men assisted primarily in the dairy and soils science departments. Daily assignments covered a wide range of activities including, in the dairy department, work in the college barns milking and tending the dairy herd; work in the college creamery making butter, ice cream, and cheese, pasteurizing and bottling milk, and delivering these products; and work in the dairy manufacturing laboratory. In the soils science department, the assignments included experimentation in the soil-testing laboratory; work in an experimental greenhouse; work on the muck soils experimental farm, where the men cared for small plots and checked the results obtained; and extension field work over the state.

There were no central living quarters provided for the members of this unit, but rather a series of widely separated lodgings. For the single men, rooms were secured in various sections of town, often in dwellings housing students of the college; and meals were supplied through the College Union cafeteria. To such married men as wished it, the college paid a cash sum in lieu of furnishing room and board, leaving them to arrange their own accommodations. These arrangements, somewhat closely approximating "normal" living conditions, made the adjustment to the CPS regimen more simple for the East Lansing assignees. At the same time, the lack of central living quarters as well as the individualized work assignments made it difficult to conduct activities as a group, and, consequently, very few unit meetings or projects were planned.

*University of Minnesota*

The second special project established by the Brethren Service Committee in co-operation with agricultural schools was with the University of Minnesota in August 1943. This project consisted of four widely separated subunits, located adjacent to or within the cities of Grand Rapids, Waseca, Duluth, and St. Paul.

The Grand Rapids station of the university consisted of an agricultural experiment farm, and a school, located a few miles beyond the town. The farm was approximately four hundred acres in extent, two hundred of which were under cultivation, and was well furnished with modern buildings and equipment. Livestock raised included dairy cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, and poultry. The school was small with an average attendance of around fifty students. It was open during the winter for a five-month term and served primarily boys of high school age interested in the study of agriculture.

The assignments of the CPS men included a wide range of tasks, although the number of assignees did not extend beyond five. One description lists the jobs as:

. . . some carpentry, digging experimental varieties of potatoes, silo filling and hay making, sowing numerous varieties of winter wheat and rye. One man is at present working in the dairy department, one as general farm laborer, and the third teaching commerce in the school, working in the office, and taking care of a small flock of chickens.<sup>20</sup>

Living quarters were provided in a dormitory which housed other employees of the station as well as the conscientious objectors. At the same time many of the fa-

<sup>20</sup>"University of Minnesota," *Brethren Service Committee—CPS Unit Descriptions*, page 1.



cilities of the station, including the library, gymnasium, and shop were available for use by the men during their off-duty time.

The Waseca experiment station comprised a total of approximately six hundred acres bordering on the town and was devoted to livestock and crops study. A number of the experiments were conducted in co-operation with the United States Department of Agriculture.

The work of the men included most of the usual farm tasks as well as those peculiar to an experiment station. Making hay, threshing grain, building fence, driving tractors and teams, feeding stock, picking, shelling, and sorting corn, treating seed—these and related tasks were performed by the CPS men and other employees of the station. At one period, the assignees were detailed to work in the following capacities:

. . . two are field laborers, working with the various crops, in pollination of plants, etc. One is an agronomist, selected to make tests related to crop yields, keeping records for the small plots experiments as well as [performing] some labor involved in their care. One is a horticulturist, selected for a gardener's job. . . . [one] is a dairy herdsman.<sup>21</sup>

Instead of furnishing room and board, the station provided the men with an allowance.

The assignments of the CPS men at the Duluth experiment farm consisted largely of work with the dairy herd and general farm operations including teamwork, planting, cultivation, haying, and harvesting. Living quarters and meals were provided by the university at the farm house, which also lodged some of the other employees.

At the St. Paul campus of the University of Minne-

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, page 2.

sota the CPS assignments consisted of work with small grains and corn, including planting, cultivating, harvesting and threshing. The men also helped with weighing samples and with the necessary work for the yearly comparison of results in seed testing and crop breeding. An average of four to five assignees were stationed at St. Paul to carry out these duties. As at Waseca an allowance was furnished the men in lieu of room and board.

### *University of Maryland*

A third CPS project was established in September 1943 with the University of Maryland, located at College Park, eight miles from Washington, D. C. There the men were

. . . employed in Dairy Barn, . . . [Milk Plant], Dairy [Nutrition] Laboratory, Livestock, Laboratory, Agronomy, Soils Laboratory, Botany, [Agricultural Engineering, Animal Husbandry], Horticulture, Entomology, Poultry, and [General] Agriculture. Most of the work is physical labor, although most . . . [is] also technical in scope.

Dairy Barn—. . . These men take care of feeding and milking 100 cows, which are all on various experiments for food and production.

[Milk Plant]—. . . Milk is pasteurized and bottled and ice cream and cheese made.

Dairy Laboratory—These men work on tests of effect of certain foods or food deficiencies on dairy animals. Most . . . [of] their work is chemical analysis.

Livestock Laboratory—. . . cleaning laboratory equipment which is used in tests and assisting in rabies tests and experiments.

Agronomy—All corn grading for the state of Maryland is done here by one of our men. Also assists in experiments with soils and the presence or productivity of certain elements.

Botany—Greenhouse work mostly . . . .

Horticulture—Work with dehydration of foods, and analysis of foods.

Entomology—Mechanical work with sprayers . . . .

Poultry—. . . [Work] with experimental pens of chickens . . . .

Agriculture—Mechanical work with sorting of grains and seeds.<sup>22</sup>

At College Park a large house was rented to provide living quarters for the assignees. One of the men was in charge of cooking, while others shared the remaining household tasks. Since this arrangement brought the men into close contact with each other after working hours, there were more group activities and programs developed by them than by the other agricultural college and experiment station projects. The number of activities undertaken as a unit, however, were far outweighed by those undertaken on an individual basis, in spite of the opportunities for the development of group programs which the common living quarters afforded. This was due in large part to the many resources available to the men for leisure-time pursuits apart from the group, by reason of their location at College Park. They found within the university, and in the near-by city of Washington, a great number of opportunities to participate in religious, educational, and recreational activities which were already well established, and so did not feel the need to turn to themselves as a group to provide such interests.

### *Cornell University*

The Brethren Service Committee administered a fourth special agricultural project in co-operation with the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University,

<sup>22</sup>"University of Maryland," *Brethren Service Committee—CPS Unit Descriptions*, page 1.

Ithaca. This was a small unit of only four men, and was established primarily to help alleviate labor shortages in the departments of animal husbandry and poultry husbandry. The project opened in July 1945.

Three of the men were assigned to the experimental dairy farm and assisted with the routine farm work involved in growing hay, silage and grain crops for the dairy herd. Part of the time some of the men worked in the dairy barn assisting with the feeding, milking and management of dairy cows.

One man was employed in the poultry department and did the routine work involved in caring for a flock of chickens. All of the poultry and other livestock were used for teaching and research purposes.

The single men lived in a boarding house located on the university farm, with other single employees. Married men were allowed to live elsewhere if they wished to provide their own living quarters.

In surveying the several agricultural college projects some general trends seem clear. The daily arrangements of work and living more nearly approximated "normal" civilian standards than those of most other Brethren projects. As a consequence, the assignees in this group had fewer adjustments to make in adapting themselves to their drafted status. Many of their activities were carried on in an environment distinguished from their pre-draft life mainly by the lack of pay and freedom to leave the job, and their increased awareness of their position as a minority group, in contrast to many of the other CPS projects which necessitated a much more abrupt break with previous ways. Concurrent with this approximation to normal living was the situation noted wherein the units

did not develop a strong common community of interests as a conscientious objector group.

#### SPECIAL SOIL CONSERVATION PROJECTS

##### *Williamsport*

Williamsport, CPS 24-2, was established in Washington County, Maryland, in April 1942, and was a special project sponsored by the Brethren in co-operation with the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Washington County soil conservation district. As such it was planned that the work day of the assignees would be given over to the development of soil conservation measures on the various co-operating farms of the district. Beyond this routine manner of serving, however, the sponsors of the venture looked to an additional series of developments to be carried forward during the off-duty hours of the men and to be aimed at making the project more vital and meaningful to all associated with it.

Basically the plans of the supplementary program were directed toward the creation of a Brethren center for the practice and study of effective rural living. Here the men were expected to gain practical experience through the development of modern, approved agricultural methods in the operation of the Brethren-owned Hopewell farm; and through their conservation work on the neighboring farms. They were to supplement such experience with a course of study concerned not only with various technical aspects of farming, but also with the total implications of a rural way of life.

In the actual development of the conservation work on the near-by farms the major task assigned the men

was the building of fences designed to take from cultivation land that could be better used as pasture. Few assignments concerned such other projects as contour plowing, ditching, tiling, soil analysis, and related technical procedures. During the harvest season the emergency farm labor program took precedence over the conservation work, and most of the men were assigned to help in gathering the crops of the area, particularly the corn, apples, hay, wheat, and tomatoes. Assignees also assisted in checking weather gauges as part of an intensive study of rainfall.

The development of the Williamsport project into a unit for the practice and study of rural living centered around the Hopewell farm and its many activities. Hopewell, "an ordinary Maryland farm of 180 acres," had been purchased by the Brethren to serve as a base of operations for the enterprise. There the assignees were provided with living quarters in the farmhouse and adjacent buildings, and with such other facilities as were needed. There also the men assisted in raising a large portion of the food consumed by the group. Probably the most important function of the farm was its use as a center for the demonstration of modern, scientific techniques of agriculture, with special emphasis upon approved practices of soil conservation.

In addition to the operation of the farm, the men took part in many other activities. Classes, speakers, field trips; the School of Rural Life; participation in the religious services of near-by communities; employment in town or at the neighboring farms during off-duty hours; recreational events—these and other related activities were all part of unit life at Hopewell. While some such activi-

ties bore no relation to the central theme of rural living, most of them contributed in some degree, either directly or indirectly, to a fuller knowledge of this way of life.

The farm at Hopewell was operated by the assignees stationed there. Usually two men, one of whom was the farm manager, were placed on the "overhead" quota in order that they might give full time to the work. They, in turn, were assisted by such help as the other men could give during off-duty hours in the early morning or evening. Such assistance was known as "plus" work and represented a contribution of the men to the success of the project. Since the farm was in a run-down condition at the time of purchase, a great deal of time and energy was needed to restore it to a state of full productivity and to make of it a model center for demonstrating the rehabilitation of worn land and its subsequent best use. Through hard work and persistent effort, however, the program of improvement gradually was accomplished. By 1944 enough progress had been made that one of the men was able to discuss the farm plans in these terms:

. . . farm demonstrations being carried on here at Hopewell are: contour farming, pasture improvement, dairy testing, breeding of pure-bred stock (hogs and dairy cattle), bee keeping, poultry-raising, poultry-culling, egg production, butchering, carpentry, masonry, and electrical wiring . . . as well as soil conservation methods . . . .<sup>23</sup>

For most of the men participation in and contact with the farming operations developed at Hopewell was a valuable educational experience. From such activity they learned at first hand many of the techniques of approved agricultural methods.

<sup>23</sup>Carl Beadles and R. Gordley, *Prospectus for Rural Life School*, May 1944, page 3.

The more formal educational activities at Hopewell included study groups in pacifism and reconstruction, the teachings of Jesus, farm accounting, spelling, farm management, Bible, and first aid. Supplementing such classes were talks and lectures by visiting speakers, and field trips to near-by farms demonstrating the successful management of some type of agricultural venture. These various educational endeavors culminated, in 1944, in a special School of Rural Life held at the Hopewell project for the men in the unit.

The school represented, in the main, an effort to provide a rather thorough study of rural life from both the standpoint of practical farming methods and the problems and values inherent to rural community living. Lectures, by both visiting speakers and project members, discussions, demonstrations, field trips, and classes were means utilized to achieve the desired goals. One such field trip, or tour, included visits to five separate farms, and a dairy, for the purpose of learning through observation.

Portions of the school program at Hopewell were coordinated with a similar undertaking of the near-by Mennonite CPS project at Hagerstown. Speakers and leaders from both groups were exchanged, and other resources were shared. Each school retained, however, a separate identity.

One of the chief difficulties encountered in developing the educational program at Hopewell lay in the lack of time available for participation by the men in such activities. At the close of a full day's work for the Soil Conservation Service there still remained a number of tasks and chores to be performed about the farm. Beyond this, many of the men felt pressed to use such free



time as they had to earn some income by working for the neighboring farmers or in the near-by town. There were also some (as in all BCPS projects) who were not interested in education. This situation led those assisting in the educational activities to feel that the program, although valuable, was less effective than it otherwise would have been.

The religious interests of the Hopewell group found a rather full expression through participation in the various activities of the Hagerstown Church of the Brethren, which was only six miles distant from the farm. Sunday services were well attended as were the many activities of the youth fellowship group. Because this church met the interests and needs of the unit in a very complete manner there were relatively few services at the farm.

There was also some participation by the assignees in the activities of other denominational groups, and numerous visits were made to the smaller rural churches of the area.

The administration of the local Williamsport project was the responsibility of the Brethren Service Committee. Since, however, Williamsport was but one of five similar CPS units engaged in soil conservation work in the area it was necessary to provide an over-all supervision of the total program. Such supervision was furnished through the Mennonite Central Committee. Under this arrangement each unit retained local autonomy and in matters that concerned only them were free to proceed on their own initiative. Such concerns as affected all five units, however, were the responsibility of the Mennonite general director. Quincy A. Holsopple,

Ora DeLauter, Lawrence Fitzwater, and Myron Miller served as directors of the Williamsport project for the Brethren.

*The New Windsor Soil Conservation Unit*

In September 1944, at New Windsor, Maryland, some fifty miles from the Hopewell farm, the Brethren established a second special project in co-operation with the Soil Conservation Service, comparable in many respects to the Williamsport project. Like Williamsport, the New Windsor unit was assigned to the development of soil conservation measures on the co-operating farms of the district. Beyond the work project, New Windsor also developed an educational program emphasizing rural interests, especially those related to soil conservation and rural rehabilitation. Unlike its companion project, however, New Windsor did not operate a large Brethren-owned farm as part of its basic program of work.<sup>24</sup> Neither were the living quarters of the men located on a farm, but rather on the campus formerly occupied by Blue Ridge College, a school of the Church of the Brethren (now the Brethren Service Center).

The work with the Soil Conservation Service was "largely fencing off pasture land that was too far eroded to be of any use under cultivation. Occasionally there . . . [were] jobs such as fencing off woodland to keep cattle out; relining fences on the contour; and constructing contour pasture furrows and terraces."<sup>25</sup> Tree planting and timber-stand improvement in the woodlots of

<sup>24</sup>The New Windsor project, however, did farm two fields of Brethren Church property. Some garden produce was grown. The land was also used as a demonstration plot in contour planting and in contour strip cropping.

<sup>25</sup>Letter of Director Ernest G. Barr to Maryland War Records Division, July 3, 1946, page 1.

the farms were also tasks to which the men were sometimes detailed.

Since a Brethren relief center, as well as the Soil Conservation project, was located on the grounds of the former college there soon grew a strong community of interests between the separate groups. In fact, as time went on, the interrelationships became so well co-ordinated that, aside from the daily work assignments, it was rather difficult to distinguish clearly the lines of demarcation between the two. The dormitory facilities and dining hall were shared. Recreational events, educational programs, religious services—these and other activities tended to become joint enterprises, with the result that a rather unitary pattern of life emerged at the center.

The central theme of the various educational activities sponsored by the CPS group was rural rehabilitation, with particular emphasis upon related aspects of soil conservation. The first several months were spent in a study centering around rehabilitation through soil conservation. Formal classes of a lecture and discussion type were held in different phases of this subject, namely:

1. Land use: the economic aspects of soil erosion and soil conservation
2. Soils, water, engineering structures and practices
3. Agronomy and horticulture
4. Forestry and wildlife, also animal husbandry
5. International aspects of soil erosion, relief service, and rehabilitation
6. Rural ministry, the social aspects of soil erosion, and conservation

After the formal classes were completed, the program

developed through a series of interest-group meetings of a more informal nature. For a time, the study of soil conservation was carried forward through one-hour discussions held each week on the project. On such occasions a study was made of the conservation plan of the particular farm on which the men were working.

Several of the group at New Windsor related soil conservation to a religious concept of a stewardship of the land. This theme was dramatized at the Richland, Pennsylvania, church through a program of readings presented against a choral background. Plans were made to visit other churches as well. In addition, a newssheet, *Stewardship*, was issued to carry this message.

The religious interests of the group at New Windsor often found expression through the several small churches of the area. There the men were extended a cordial welcome and an opportunity to participate in the various services held. Because such relationships seemed very satisfactory, there was correspondingly less provision made for such developments within the relief center. Beyond general attendance at the local churches, groups or individuals from the project were invited to participate actively in the services, as speakers, or to furnish music, or to assist in other ways.

Other free-time activities also found a place in the daily routine of New Windsor. One description summarized these in the following manner:

We are enjoying excellent relations with the New Windsor and surrounding communities. We have organized a male chorus from the combined units and sing occasionally in neighborhood churches. . . . The former College library and [the] city library are available for our use and we are obtaining new books . . . for our educa-

tional program. The gymnasium floor is available and we have formed several basketball and volleyball teams. We play against outside teams occasionally.<sup>26</sup>

Several musical groups were organized at the relief center in addition to the male chorus, including a choir, a trio, a mixed quartet, and a male quartet. Deputations were sent to churches both locally and in the surrounding states. An effort was made to present a picture of the New Windsor center and the Brethren relief program.

The administration of the New Windsor soil conservation unit was the primary responsibility of the Brethren Service Committee, although the project was related to the Mennonite Central Committee in exactly the same manner as was Williamsport. At New Windsor four assignees served as directors during the history of the project. They were Harold Cessna, Ervin Block, Russell Fisher, and Ernest Barr.

Within the unit many of the details of the program were carried forward by special committees, subject to the approval of the larger "camp" community, and the staff. Because of the close relation of the CPS unit to the relief center many of the concerns of each were cared for by co-operative action.

The work accomplished by the several Brethren agricultural units was undoubtedly a significant contribution to food production. In a time of labor shortage these CPS projects—dairy farming, dairy testing, agricultural college and experiment station units, and the special soil conservation groups at Williamsport and New Windsor—rendered a valuable service to the nation.

<sup>26</sup>H. M. Cessna and E. F. Block, of the New Windsor unit, to John Bowman. Letter of January 18, 1945, page 3. Later the gymnasium was converted to use for processing relief goods.

## CHAPTER 8

### Crestview and Tallahassee

Camp Crestview, Florida, was established as a special project in March 1942, and was the first Civilian Public Service unit to be assigned to public health service. The creation of the unit came largely as a result of the desire of many of the assignees and of the service committee for work serving immediate human needs. At that time, one of the areas of the nation in greatest need of health service was the "hookworm belt" of the South. Because hookworm can be controlled and eliminated through the initiation of simple medical and sanitary measures and effective education which will insure their use, and because such efforts have a direct effect in raising not only the health standards of the inhabitants, but the economic and social standards as well, those interested in sponsoring such a project felt the work would prove of great value.

M. R. Zigler, W. Harold Row, and Dan West carried through for the Brethren the preliminary negotiations with the various concerned parties—the National Service Board, Selective Service, the Florida State Board of Health, and the local county officials in whose districts the work was to be done. As the final details were arranged, Ralph Townsend, then assistant director at Camp Lagro, was chosen director of the new unit. He arrived in Crestview in March 1942 and began immediately the

work of establishing the camp. Later he was joined by his wife, Mrs. Mildred Townsend, who served as a registered nurse and camp dietitian.

The first task at hand was to provide facilities for housing the men, and for establishing the work project. A small plot of approximately six acres, located a mile and a half from the town of Crestview, was bought as a camp site, and tents were erected. The camp was opened with the arrival of a group of four men on March 21. Their first efforts were directed toward constructing needed buildings and work sheds. As more men arrived, the work progressed until, by July, most of the basic camp construction was completed, and a start had been made on the hookworm project. At that time the enrollment had increased to sixteen.

#### WORK IN THE "HOOKWORM BELT"

The primary work of the camp centered in the control and elimination of hookworm disease through the construction and installation of sanitary privies for the people of the area. The main source of hookworm infection is soil contaminated with eggs carried in the excreta from infected persons. In such soil the eggs mature into nearly microscopic larva which, upon contact, penetrate the skin, find their way into the bloodstream and lodge in the intestines. To prevent soil contamination, it is necessary to provide for the sanitary disposal of human waste. In the Crestview area the most practical means at hand was the program undertaken of providing sanitary privies for those who had no facilities or whose facilities were such as contaminated the surrounding area.

The construction of the privies called for simple skills

in carpentry, cement work, and painting. Wood portions were cut on a power saw from a standard pattern, and then assembled in quantity. The cement parts were cast in standard-size forms. Practice varied between assembling the units at the camp and at the site of installation. The plans and specifications followed were those supplied by the Florida State Board of Health.

Although privy construction and installation was the main work of the campers, the assignees did render other significant services aimed at bettering the health conditions of the region. One of these was well digging for clients of the Farm Security Administration. The usual practice was for a crew of two men to take their equipment from the camp for a week at a time, returning on week ends. This work was well described by one of the assignees:

Another sanitation project which quite regularly employs two of our men is well digging. Because of the sandy soil in the region, it is possible to dig these wells by "pumping" the sand with a two-inch pipe. By means of a rope run over a pulley supported by a tri-pod, the pipe is dropped a few times, and then raised and cleaned. When the moisture level is reached where the sand or clay no longer clings to the pipe, the casing is put down and a smaller wet bucket is used inside the casing to complete the hole. A cement slab around the top is the standard safety measure which completes the well. These closed wells keep the water supply free from contamination by flies, mosquitoes, or surface water.

The life of the well diggers is in many respects very interesting and enlightening because through the week they board and room with their clients. Of all our contacts with these people, theirs are the most intimate. They often form lasting friendships with various families.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Roland Bartel, *Health and Sanitation Work in Crestview, Florida* (a short essay), page 3.



Another health service rendered by the assignees was the construction of several septic tanks. Here again two men worked together on the job, occasionally living at the place of installation until the task was completed. Generally these tanks were "built of brick laid up from a concrete floor six feet below the ground level. Lids of reinforced concrete are set in mortar to make the tank air tight for the benefit of anerobic bacteria which produce the septic action. The drain field is made by laying 4 inch drain tile in a 12 . . . [to] 18 inch bed of cinders at a depth of . . . [18 inches]."<sup>2</sup>

Two other assignments of significance were: (1) the screening of houses as a malaria-control measure, and (2) the construction of special one-room isolation cabins for families with members infected with tuberculosis. Some time was also given to public health surveys, the construction of dish-sterilizing equipment for restaurants, and the testing of cattle for Bang's disease.

**Table 11**

**Public Health Work of Camp Crestview<sup>3</sup>**

Privy construction and installation .....	577
Wells .....	57
Septic tanks .....	38
Screening jobs (malaria control) .....	31
Tuberculosis cabins .....	3

*Organization of the Work*

The project at Camp Crestview was carried on in co-operation with the Florida State Board of Health and

<sup>2</sup>*Crestviews*, I, 8 (October, 1942), page 5. *Crestviews* was the newssheet issued by the camp.

<sup>3</sup>Ralph Townsend, special report of C.P.S. Camp No. 27, Crestview, Florida, November 8, 1943, page 1.

the local county health departments. The state board furnished such technical information as was necessary to the job, including surveys of the area; plans of approved-type privies, septic tanks, and wells; and other relevant public health data. They also served as a liaison for the camp to the local groups with whom the project was to develop, especially in the initial stages of negotiations. The state officials most closely associated with the work of the camp were J. B. Miller, chief sanitary engineer of Florida, and R. C. Carter, technical sanitarian. The county health departments were usually represented by a sanitarian of their employ, who assumed the initiative in contacting the people in need of the services of the unit and passed on to the camp such requests as he secured.

The relationship developed between the unit and these agencies was almost wholly one of friendly co-operation. This was especially true of the work with the state board. Each group looked upon the other as a partner in a mutual enterprise — improving public health — and conducted their work on that basis. Between them was a feeling of mutual confidence and respect for technical work ability.

The actual work at the camp and at the site of installation was supervised by the assignees themselves. The various crews (construction, installation, well digging, etc.) were composed of volunteers, with such adjustments as were needed made by an assignee work committee and the director. Each crew elected one of its members to serve as a foreman. To provide an opportunity for all the campers to acquire the skills involved in the various assignments, each job was rotated every four months.

This organization of the work, coupled with the con-

viction of the men in the worth of the venture, contributed in a large way to the growth of a feeling of loyalty to the project, a feeling on the part of the campers that it was *their* project. One of the men expressed it thus:

When materials become scarce or other problems arise, everybody is affected because this is everybody's project. Practically our whole family has contributed in some way toward increasing the efficiency of our work so that the number of man-days required to build and install a complete unit has been reduced from eight to less than five.<sup>4</sup>

Another camper represented the matter in this light:

An item high in the scale of values here is mechanical ingenuity and inventiveness. If one can contrive an alteration in forms or method that will contribute to the efficiency of privy production, he is really "in." Of course, hard working is considerably prized in this situation, as one would expect.<sup>5</sup>

The main problems faced by the unit in their efforts to develop the work were:

1. The lack of adequate transportation facilities to carry the men and materials to the job and to haul supplies. The lack was especially felt in the first several months of the program, prior to the allocation of a government truck to the camp.

2. A scarcity of materials, especially lumber, used in the work.

3. The uncertain tenure of the local county health department, traceable to lack of adequate financial support.

<sup>4</sup>Bartel, *op. cit.*, page 3.

<sup>5</sup>Camp Crestview diary, October 31, 1943. Written by assignees, the diary covers the daily events of unit life for the period 10-7-42-11-2-44. This excerpt is from a section recorded by Robert Rohwer.

4. The campaign waged to remove the camp from the county by a group who felt there was no place for conscientious objection in that region.

#### COMMUNITY LIFE AT CAMP CRESTVIEW

The days were full of activity for the men at Camp Crestview. Project work, classes and meetings in the evening, recreation, formal and informal religious services, helping the neighboring families—these and other concerns were part of the daily round of events. Through this whole pattern of living there grew up a feeling of unity among the group and a common loyalty to the success of the venture that integrated the activities and interests of the men around the camp community. In such an atmosphere personal differences were held to a minimum and where present were more easily reconciled than in many other Civilian Public Service units. Undoubtedly there were many reasons for the development of this spirit of community—among them, perhaps, the type of men selected for the camp, the leadership of the Townsends, the large degree of camper participation in the management of the project, the smallness of the group, their relative isolation from other interests, and the nature of the project. Whatever its origins, however, this spirit did run through the current of camp life.

A glimpse into the typical routine of the camp and the environment in which the work was carried forward is afforded by the following accounts, the first of which is in the form of an intimate letter:

Tartt and I still get up at 5:30 for our quiet time before breakfast and Orville has joined us now. As the days are getting much shorter, we have to use a lantern and meet in the tool tent; but I

still take a few minutes to enjoy the beautiful sunrise. At 6:00 we join the others in the dining room for breakfast. . . . "Moon" is leading morning devotions this week and gave us real food for thought . . . .

After breakfast, we have a few minutes to get our beds made and personal things done; but I had to get right to work on the laundry so I could get it through by 11:30—lunch time.<sup>6</sup>

At seven o'clock a crew of four men take the stake truck, load it with cinders at the railroad track, and drive fifteen miles north to the nearest farming community where they install a septic tank for a school. During the noon hour they have a brief basketball scrimmage with the high school team . . . . On the return trip they are especially aware of the diversified crops, increased numbers of livestock, and other good farming practises . . . in this community.

Three other men take the panel truck and drive down to the bay area to complete the installation of several privies which were delivered earlier. All the way down they see nothing but the unproductive sandy soil covered with measly scrub oaks, a few pine, pecan, and tung oil trees, and some blueberry bushes. These marginal farmers cannot raise crops, have only meagre gardens, and keep only one or two cows. Along the bay and near the Gulf, the men see quite a few fishermen's cottages.

The same morning two men pack some extra clothes, load the home-made tri-pod and other tools, start the model T Ford by pushing it, and leave for the week to dig wells for F.S.A. [Farm Security Administration] clients. The three or four men who remain in camp and are not . . . [on] overhead, swing their hammers all day or pour some concrete forms to keep ahead of the installation crew.<sup>7</sup>

The rest of our gang are still in the side camp near Milton . . . .

After supper 3 or 4 of us went over to a neighbor's to help a little . . . . Right now, most . . . are out playing volleyball . . . . As soon as they have finished we plan a meeting . . . .<sup>8</sup>

A portion of the education program of Crestview was devoted to classes in first aid, Spanish, co-operatives, epi-

<sup>6</sup>*Crestviews*, I, 7 (September 1942), page 1.

<sup>7</sup>Bartel, *op. cit.*, page 4.

<sup>8</sup>*Crestviews*, I, 7 (September 1942), page 1.

demology, environmental sanitation, community study, and house wiring. While these achieved some degree of success, a variety of factors vitiated the efficiency of this method of learning. The greatest, possibly, was the fact that some of the crews were out of camp for several days and nights at a time because of the nature and location of their work. This same work, on the other hand, was the means whereby many of the men developed the manual skills of carpentry, masonry, well drilling, plumbing, and tool care. On the whole, the most effective growth at Crestview seemed to come, not through the more formal efforts at education, but through the development of the work at hand, the contacts of the assignees, one with another, their efforts to build a community, and their relations with the people of the region.

Along with the days of hard labor on the project were those hours in which the men sought rest and relaxation. There were frequent picnics and hikes to near-by areas, and sometimes a trip to the Gulf of Mexico. Volleyball, softball, basketball, tennis and horseshoes were popular leisure-time games.

One of the assignees in answering a question as to the leisure-time activities replied, in part: "Well, I believe there is more than the average amount of reading going on here. . . . But otherwise they do the usual thing, sew rugs, write letters, participate in church activities . . . and keep alive some bull sessions."<sup>9</sup>

The campers of Crestview participated in a variety of religious services during the history of the unit, the emphasis shifting from one type to another at different periods of time. Some that seemed most significant were

<sup>9</sup>Roland Bartel, letter to Snowden, December 2, 1942, page 2.

the morning devotions, the Saturday evening vespers, the Sunday morning meetings at camp, and the Sunday services in the town churches.

Unit members very frequently attended services in the small local churches. In the Crestview Baptist church, which extended a cordial welcome to the CPS men and attracted about one third of the camp group, the assignees served as janitors, choristers, Sunday-school teachers, and church committee members.<sup>10</sup> The camp was sometimes host to social events which were planned as part of a church program. Many different denominations were represented by the campers.

#### AN UNUSUAL UNIT ORGANIZATION

##### *Brethren, Friends, and Mennonites*

The over-all administration of the Crestview camp was cared for by the Brethren Service Committee, although the Mennonites and the Friends shared in the project. Men from these groups as well as several other denominations lived and worked together in a very cordial and friendly spirit of fellowship. In September of 1943, as the work program was expanded beyond Crestview to include new counties, the Mennonites assumed responsibility for a unit at Mulberry, Florida, and the Friends for one at Orlando. With this expansion there developed a new division of responsibilities among the service committees. Co-ordination of those aspects of the Florida program which concerned all three groups was cared for by the Brethren through Director Townsend. He was particularly responsible for the official relationships with the Florida State Board of Health, and Selective Service,

<sup>10</sup>The reception was not always friendly in some of the other denominations.

and for the preparation of official reports. Beyond this loose control organization, however, each local unit was practically autonomous in its development. Matters that concerned them only were not referred to the central administration.

In November 1945, the unit at Orlando moved to Gainesville. Later, in February 1946, as the Friends were preparing to withdraw from the administration of Civilian Public Service, Gainesville became a Brethren-sponsored unit.<sup>11</sup>

### *Crestview Administration*

The Crestview unit was notable for the degree to which the campers participated in giving direction to the project, and for the bond of unity which developed among the participants—assignees and staff alike. There were, of course, differences in point of view among the diverse group assembled there, but the characteristic spirit developed was one of group concern and decision in those matters which affected all. Much the same attitude that has been described in connection with the organization of the daily work was present in all phases of camp life. A feeling of community and a sense that the venture was a co-operative undertaking to which all were contributing and to which all had a responsibility led naturally to a type of camp organization wherein all had a voice in policy.

The formal organization of the camp was quite simple. A number of interest groups or committees—worship, work, education, community service, social, and recreation—were responsible for developing the several phases

<sup>11</sup>A description of the Gainesville unit can be found in the Appendix.



of unit life. A representative from each committee meeting with the staff formed the council which served to consider matters beyond the scope of any one committee and yet not of such a nature as to require a decision by the whole community. A meeting of the total camp considered those matters of importance which affected the group as a whole.

### THE MOVE TO TALLAHASSEE

In November 1943 the camp was moved to Tallahassee, approximately one hundred fifty miles to the east of Crestview. A large factor behind the relocation was the campaign waged by a group in the town of Crestview, associated with one of the local newspapers, to remove the camp from the area. The attitude expressed was that there was no place for conscientious objection in that region.<sup>12</sup> A careful reading of the published articles leaves the feeling that the dominant motive of the newspaper was to criticize and discredit those local government officials who had consented to the establishment of the unit in Crestview and who were the political opponents of the group represented by the newspaper.

Apart from the attacks of this group, the campers were accorded a mixed reception by the populace. Some of the townspeople were cordial and friendly, many were indifferent, and others were hostile. One camper discussed public relations in these terms:

The process of selling ourselves has been slow and beset with some difficulties. . . . However, what progress has been made has

<sup>12</sup>See especially, *The Okaloosa Messenger* for June 17, 1943, column 1, page 1; June 10, 1943, column 1, page 1; May 20, 1943, column 1, page 1; May 6, 1943, column 1, page 1; November 18, 1943, column 1, page 1; October 7, 1943, column 2, page 4; September 23, 1943, column 1, page 1.

been the result of concrete work done for various people as an expression of our goodwill. . . . Our immediate neighbors have called on us for help with farm and garden work, and the town has used us for some of their emergency jobs. In the churches we have finally been accepted after a period of mistrust. . . . We feel much more welcome now than at first as we go to town, and especially to the small churches.<sup>13</sup>

Particularly in the final months, the campers were conscious of the appreciation of the many people whom they had helped with sanitation problems. This clientele group, however, was comparatively inarticulate and ineffective in forming public opinion. It seems evident that the newspaper sentiments reflected the opinion of only a minority and that, as the time of departure drew near, the community appeared to regret the move of the unit. It is worth mentioning that even the most bitter opponents of the camp had no criticism to offer of the personal conduct of the assignees.

In some respects the relocation of the project was viewed as desirable by the campers. Other regions in Florida were in even greater need of help in combating hookworm, and there were indications that the work begun in the Crestview area would be continued by the local county officials.

At the same time there was developing a consciousness that hookworm incidence was directly related to low economic standards of living and that these standards would need to be raised before a health campaign could be permanently successful. As a consequence a decision was reached that in establishing a new project a portion of the group effort should be devoted to bettering the economic opportunities of the population. Since the

<sup>13</sup>Bartel, letter to Snowden, December 2, 1942, page 3.

program of the United States Forest Service seemed to offer opportunity for a sound regional economy, the camp sought an agreement with that agency as part of its new plan. Negotiations were successful, and a program was outlined whereby the assignees could assist not only in the establishment of better sanitation facilities, but also in the establishment of a more stable economy for the people of the area.

As the camp was closing, and the men were preparing to take up the work anew in a different county, the unit newspaper offered a thoughtful summary of Camp Crestview life:

C.O.'s at Crestview have found enrichments not generally characteristic of CPS life: greater incentive to do one's best on a project immediately important to the very life of the community; broader scope for the individual in a small camp whose director, identifying himself with the group, relies on group decision and responsibility; closer communication with the people of the area, at whose homes CO's have worked, sometimes lodging for a week or more. If campers have failed to overcome, through the means at hand, the human tendency in a few of their neighbors to use for personal advantage the latent popular fear of minority groups, and the human inertia of the many in the face of such tactics, they have at least learned a lesson for pacifists: that greater effort than mere social service to those closest at hand is necessary if the pacifist witness is to maintain an environment congenial to its own continuing.<sup>14</sup>

#### NEW DEVELOPMENTS AT TALLAHASSEE

The unit moved from its location at Crestview to its new site near Tallahassee in November 1943. Although this relocation brought with it certain changes in the routine conduct of the project—especially changes re-

<sup>14</sup>*Crestviews*, II, 8 (November, 1943), page 4.

lated to the mechanical aspects of the work—most of the patterns of thought and action developed at Crestview were carried over and extended into the new environment. Camp life was still marked by a spirit of service and unity; and the basic aim of the work project continued to be community betterment through the elimination of hookworm although that aim had been supplemented with the additional aim of contributing to a sound regional economy. As at Crestview, the direction of the project was shared by all participants, staff and assignees alike.<sup>15</sup> The co-operative arrangements with the Florida State Board of Health, meanwhile, remained much as before, with the same spirit of mutual appreciation and confidence present. Along with all these basic elements of similarity, however, there were developed at Tallahassee certain distinctive features which differentiated it from Crestview. The most significant of these are discussed in the following sections.

### *Co-operation With the Forest Service*

The most noticeable developments accompanying the relocation of the camp were the extension of the project to include regular assignments with the United States Forest Service and the logging and milling of the lumber necessary for the construction of privies. This was made possible through a triparty agreement among the camp, the Florida State Board of Health, and the United States Forest Service. The basic terms of this agreement provided for:

1. The camp buildings to be constructed by the as-

<sup>15</sup>When Director Townsend left, he was succeeded by Assignee-Director Philip Nordstrom. In the closing months of the program, Virgil Wilkinson was selected for this position.

signees on Forest Service land in the Apalachicola National Forest.

2. The Forest Service to issue a permit to the Florida State Board of Health to cut timber without charge.

3. The camp to furnish the necessary sawmill equipment.

4. The Forest Service to provide a logging truck and the necessary hand logging tools.

5. The camp to be administered and maintained by the Brethren Service Committee.

6. The materials necessary for the buildings to be provided by the Forest Service or the State Board of Health.

7. The assignees to be assigned in equal numbers to the health project and to the Forest Service, the latter to use the men on routine forestry work, especially fire control.

8. The Forest Service and the State Board of Health each to furnish the equipment, tools, materials, and supervision for its work.<sup>16</sup>

Under these terms the project went forward at the new location. A site was chosen in the Apalachicola Forest approximately twelve miles from the city of Tallahassee, and work was begun. The first tasks to which the men turned were the designing of the camp buildings and the installation of the sawmill equipment. The logging and milling of lumber necessary for the various structures followed. By February the surveyors were driving the stakes to mark off the buildings, and by summer the first of these were completed and in use. As finally developed, the camp consisted of a large administra-

<sup>16</sup>The agreement among the parties was contained in a contract entitled *Relocation of Crestview Unit of C.P.S. No. 27 in Wakulla and Franklin Counties, Florida*.

tion building, four dormitories, a wash house, and the work sheds and garages. The construction work was organized under the supervision of assignee foremen.

With the camp structures completed, full attention was turned to the development of the health and Forest Service work projects. Approximately equal numbers of men were assigned to each field of endeavor. The work of the Forest Service crew included many of the same tasks as those performed in other national forests, namely: fire fighting, telephone and radio maintenance, trail and road work, prescribed burning, tool maintenance and repair, operation and maintenance of equipment, the manufacture of tiles for culverts, and timber cruising. Some of this work was developed in the area near the camp, while the remainder was undertaken at a small side camp, Wilma, a ranger station, approximately forty-five miles west and south of Tallahassee.

### *Health Work*

As at Crestview the major goal of the health project was the control and elimination of hookworm through the construction and installation of sanitary privies. The means developed at Tallahassee to achieve this goal differed, however, from those of the former camp. One of the chief points of divergence lay in the development of the sawmill mentioned above. Under the terms of the triparty agreement the camp bought and installed all the equipment necessary to the complete milling of logs, including a forty-eight-inch main saw, an edger, and a planer. The Forest Service, in turn, then allowed the camp to cut from its lands such timber as was needed, without charge.

Several days each week a number of the assignees allocated to health work formed into a logging crew to cut and haul the timber from the forest. At the same time another crew of assignees operated the sawmill, cutting the logs into lumber of the proper dimensions, and stacking it for drying. This arrangement provided the local project with a continuous supply of lumber for its work.

In the construction of the sanitary units new methods utilizing mass production techniques were perfected. Boards previously cut to the correct dimensions were brought to templates especially designed for assembling a single section of the unit. The final assembly of the various sections into the complete privy was then made at the site of installation.

As the program progressed at Tallahassee, and the final details of lumbering and privy construction were well established, there developed a new relation between the camp and several of the county health departments of the state, who, like Tallahassee, were working on a program of hookworm control. Because the Civilian Public Service project seemed a model in many respects, several sanitarians and health officials from these counties visited the camp to observe and study the techniques and methods in use there. As a result, they carried back to their own projects many of the ideas that had been developed by the assignees. At the same time arrangements were made by which the Tallahassee camp supplied several of these counties with duplicates of the forms, templates and jigs which the camp was using. They also supplied in quantity the prefabricated wood sections of the privies to other projects on hookworm control. Tallahassee thus became a vital influence in hookworm control throughout



the state. Through their work, the members of the Tallahassee unit stimulated the growth of other similar projects, contributed to more efficient production methods, and, in a time of shortage, furnished a source of lumber supply to projects which otherwise would have been handicapped severely or totally curtailed.

In many ways the co-operative arrangement whereby the health and forest projects were developed together proved of value, for each undertaking supplemented the other in a very effective manner. The assignment of CPS men to work in the forest helped to provide protection and upkeep for this great natural resource. At the same time the forest provided the lumber necessary to the development of the sanitation project. Large hopes were placed upon the long-time effects of such a program. It was expected that from the improved health of the inhabitants the resources of the forest (which was the chief source of livelihood in the area) would be better developed, and that the forest could then in turn provide a more stable and effective economic support for its workers.

The major problem of the co-operative arrangement was the lack of an adequate number of assignees to meet the needs of both projects. Although the average number of men assigned to Tallahassee was thirty-eight as compared to twenty for Crestview,<sup>17</sup> the full potential of production was never reached because of the lack of personnel. From twenty to thirty or more additional workers would have been required to utilize fully the

<sup>17</sup>Form No. 105 of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors for Crestview and Tallahassee. Figures are an approximate average calculated from these monthly reports. In addition to the thirty-eight men at the Brethren unit of Tallahassee, additional men were stationed at the Friends and the Mennonite units in Florida.



machinery and equipment at the camp. Negotiations with Selective Service to secure the additional assignees were not successful.

In spite of the labor shortage, however, the work was markedly successful in both fields, forestry and health alike.

The chief forest officer, John W. Squires, evaluated the program in these terms:

In my opinion this camp has served a very useful purpose, not only in the hookworm control work, but on much needed forestry projects, many of which would have gone undone during the war . . . .

We never had any difficulty with the personnel. We found the group to be cooperative and hard-working in most instances. Frankly, we think this has been a very worthwhile project . . . .<sup>18</sup>

### *Finances*

The financial support of Crestview and Tallahassee was borne by the Brethren Service Committee. At Crestview the service committee purchased the land and materials for building the camp, and a large amount of the tools and equipment necessary to the project. After Crestview was closed, the land and buildings were sold. At Tallahassee one of the largest expenditures was for the sawmill. This item was cared for through an amortization fund built up from the sale of the wood units and through the final sale of the equipment at the close of the project. Generally the sanitary units were paid for by the recipients on the basis of the cost of the materials, although in some cases other arrangements were provided for those unable to purchase on such terms. For both

<sup>18</sup>Letter of John W. Squires, forest supervisor, to W. Harold Row, December 4, 1945.

projects, consequently, the primary cost to the Brethren Service Committee was the maintenance of the men.

### *Camp Life*

Apart from the physical environment, life at Tallahassee was similar to that at Crestview. In the organization of the camp the assignees and staff continued a joint direction of the project, although the particular interest groups and committees responsible for the development of unit activities were changed. The new phases of the work likewise required a regrouping of the crews and the election of foremen for each crew. In the sense of educational achievement the main growth of the assignees continued to come through opportunities provided by the total camp situation rather than from the more formal classes, although some additional courses—including sociology, first aid, understanding the Bible, and marriage, family, and courtship—were offered.<sup>19</sup> A variety of religious services was likewise continued.

Also contributory to unit life was the opportunity which the campers had of putting into practice their convictions about race relations. A camper at Tallahassee, discussing the efforts of the CPS men to treat Negro clients with consideration, noted: "In race relations, the campers endeavored to live in a spirit of equality with both their white and colored neighbors, quite successfully. Improvement also was made among the campers themselves, a few of whom at first were less courageous along this line than others."<sup>20</sup>

Although the spirit of camp unity and the desire to

<sup>19</sup>Five men completed for college credit the standard course in introduction to sociology which was taught by a camper, Robert Rohwer.

<sup>20</sup>Letter of Robert Rohwer, August 12, 1947.

**Table 12**  
**Tallahassee Work Accomplishment Record<sup>21</sup>**  
**December 1943—January 1946**

Job Description	Units	Man-Days
Privies .....	329	1,690
Privy equipment .....		69
Privy concrete forms .....	26	109
Accounting and bookkeeping for Wakulla hospital .....		500
Construction and maintenance of camp buildings and grounds .....		2,055
Lawyer for State Board of Health .....		118
Septic tank .....		21
Logging operation .....		1,099
Logging equipment .....		257
Garage .....		85
Urinals .....	5	5
Fire fighting .....		467
Fire presuppression .....		465
Equipment, repair and manufacturing .....		968
Well drilling .....		18
Forest maintenance .....		938
Road betterment and maintenance .....		858
Equipment, operation and repairs .....		242
Planting .....		49
Sawmill building .....		128
Sawmill equipment .....		437
Sawmill operation .....		1,740
Health survey .....		87
Project overhead (Forest Service and Health service .....		626
Wilma and Ocala .....		1,321
Saturday turnback .....		414
Special details .....		455
Camp overhead (cooks, laundrymen, etc.)		5,009

<sup>21</sup>These figures were furnished by the Florida State Board of Health upon request of the author.

assist the people of the area remained the dominant note throughout the life of the project, in the last months before closing there was noticeable a reaction on the part of the men against the restrictive features of the CPS system. The long period without pay and compensation, the lack of freedom for the men to choose their own manner of serving, and the absence of the normal aspects of ordinary living began to weigh more heavily upon them. Yet with the protest against these features, there was still retained the sense of community within the camp, and the desire to serve the people of the area. The hookworm project was still regarded as one of the best of all CPS projects; but it was felt that a fuller measure of service could be rendered apart from the draft law.

#### A WORTH-WHILE CONTRIBUTION

In estimating the value of the work of the CPS men in Florida, the report of an official visitor from Selective Service seems particularly significant:

The efficiency of the various units in the construction of sanitary privies can be determined by comparing the amount of work done by the assignees to that done by workers under the Works Progress Administration. Man days of work per privy are as follows: Mulberry 3, Orlando 3.1, [Tallahassee] 5 (which includes the production of lumber as well as construction), W.P.A. 11¾ [man-days].

For coordination and efficiency this unit is outstanding. This is due in large measure to the able leadership of Ralph Townsend, Director of the entire CPS Project No. 27, and to the interest and loyalty of the majority of the men.

This entire hookworm project will, in my opinion, stand out as one of the most worthwhile contributions made by conscientious objectors during this war, and it should be encouraged and enlarged so far as possible.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Official report of Major Walfred Lindstrom to Colonel Lewis F. Kosch, head of the camp operations division of Selective Service, November 20, 1944, page 1.

## CHAPTER 9

### The Minnesota Experiment in Starvation and Rehabilitation

In November 1944 thirty-six CPS men arrived at the laboratory of physiological hygiene of the University of Minnesota to serve as subjects in what is now known, in the United States and abroad, as the "Minnesota experiment." The participants had been carefully chosen from CPS units over the nation. They were, after a period of preparatory and control studies, to subsist on a European type of famine diet for six months, and then to undergo controlled nutritional rehabilitation for some months thereafter. Nine additional CPS men had been selected to serve as special assistants to the scientific staff. The entire group was to take part in an effort to create a controlled miniature of the kind of famine which decimated western Holland in the winter and spring of 1945.

This was not the first nutrition project using CPS men at the University of Minnesota. Early in 1943 assignees began serving there as guinea pigs in studies on vitamin requirements. By the spring of 1944 they had participated in several experiments involving a few days of total fasting, which were designed to throw light on the problems of shipwreck and disaster. The fact that these studies disclosed major uncertainties about the bodily changes in starvation and the food needs for subsequent recovery

pointed to the value of a more extensive experiment in undernutrition. Such a study seemed particularly important since the certainty of major world food shortages was becoming increasingly evident. Discussions of these questions between the laboratory staff and individuals in the CPS group brought assurances from the CPS men that the scientific requirements for prolonged and severe semistarvation would be met by men like themselves in the conviction that the scientific and humanitarian gains would more than compensate for the personal sacrifices involved.

Doctors Henry Longstreet Taylor and Josef Brozek for the staff and Harold Guetzkow for the CPS men developed the idea with enthusiasm. The director of the laboratory, Dr. Ancel Keys, began efforts to enlist support and sponsorship. Initial results were disappointing except for the ready interest evinced by a few officials of the Church of the Brethren and the Society of Friends. W. Harold Row, the national director of Brethren CPS, urged the Brethren Service Committee to support the experiment as a special project and to give financial assistance. The Brethren Service Committee in June 1944 agreed to aid the project and invited the Mennonites and the Friends to share in the venture. The response was favorable from both these groups. The natural interest of the service committees in the experiment was augmented by the development of plans to use the project as a training center for CPS men interested in relief work. This was possible because the duties of the "guinea pigs" were of a nature that approximately half their working hours could be devoted to a study program. A. S. Imirie, of the camp operations division of Selective Service, lent

his support to the project, but appeals for Federal funds were by-passed by various agencies. Concentration on the direct tasks of the war prevented recognition of the inevitable aftermath of famine and its tremendous problems, for which accurate information would be needed.

In the meantime the staff of the laboratory proceeded with the detailed planning, but months went by and there were still no signs that the essential Federal funds would be forthcoming. At this juncture the director of the laboratory appealed to other organizations. His efforts were successful; funds were secured from the John and Mary Markle Foundation for Medical Research, the Home Missions Board of the Unitarian Society, the Sugar Research Foundation of New York, and the National Dairy Council of Chicago. This aid brought the total guarantee of funds to the point where, by using all reserves from the laboratory's budget from the university, it seemed justifiable to proceed. The medical research committee of the Office of Scientific Research and Development gave the support required by Selective Service, which agency, in turn, authorized the establishment of the project. The plan for the project went forward immediately.

The subsequent financial history may be mentioned. In the latter phases of the experiment, assistance was given through the Office of Scientific Research and Development and the Office of the Surgeon General of the United States Army. Throughout the entire project, the support of the University of Minnesota was of major importance. Thus the Minnesota experiment was a truly co-operative undertaking. Funds from church, industrial, governmental,

private philanthropic, and academic sources made it possible to carry the project to its completion.<sup>1</sup>

#### ORGANIZATION AND GENERAL OPERATION

The over-all administration and responsibility for the project rested with the staff of the university laboratory, headed by Ancel Keys. The usual responsibilities of the church administrative agency within the CPS system were assumed by the Brethren Service Committee, although the Friends and the Mennonites were closely associated with the Brethren in the project. W. Jarrott Harkey served as assistant director of the assignee group.

The educational program of the unit was developed under the leadership of Paul H. Bowman, Jr., and Robert W. Stevens. Bowman, an experienced relief worker, was director of the relief training. Stevens served as unit educational secretary.

For the duration of the project the CPS men were housed immediately adjacent to the laboratory workrooms and offices. The stadium headquarters provided dormitories, toilet facilities, study rooms, a large recreation hall, and the unit office. Meals were prepared and eaten in Shevlin Hall, a short distance away on the campus.

The demands of the tests and measurements were heavy; however, this work occupied only a part of the twenty-four hours a week devoted to laboratory duties. Each man had other tasks assigned according to his experience and interests. These included housekeeping chores, laundry work, assistance in the workshop, tabulating, and other similar duties. Regular outdoor walks and

<sup>1</sup>Much of the data regarding the origin of the experiment has been furnished by the staff of the laboratory of physiological hygiene.



periods of exercise on the treadmill were also part of the routine.

For approximately the first five months of the control period and the early part of semistarvation the men were free to come and go during their off hours except for the requirements of the diet and regular hours of sleep. Thereafter, however, a "buddy system" was introduced; no man could be outside of the premises unless he was accompanied by a "buddy." This constant surveillance was necessitated because of the increasingly severe stress of resisting the temptation to break the diet. The buddy system was discontinued after six weeks of rehabilitation.

Even with the buddy system it was not impossible to break the diet, and it was remarkable that, with very few exceptions, the men adhered faithfully to the regimen at all times. Confirmation of this was furnished not only by the testimony of the men themselves but by the fact that their weight losses and starvation changes conformed entirely to theory.

The experimental plan demanded for its success the full understanding and active co-operation of the CPS men. Frequent meetings of the whole group with the staff kept everyone informed of all developments and allowed questions and complaints to be answered. In addition a small committee chosen by the CPS men maintained constant liaison with the staff and the subjects. W. Jarrott Harkey and Max Kampelman were particularly effective in this work.

#### THE LABORATORY EXPERIMENT

From the beginning the laboratory experiment had a twofold aim: to add to the store of scientific knowledge

about starvation and rehabilitation; and to formulate from this knowledge a set of recommendations that might be used by those directing relief operations in stricken areas. The character of the diet and the degree of starvation were aimed to be representative of the famine and war conditions in north central Europe. This meant that the starvation menus would be based on the foods available in that region during the famine period, and that the rehabilitation menus would be based on the same minimum diet plus those relief foodstuffs likely to become available for rehabilitation purposes through importation.

Three definite steps were involved in the experiment: a standardization or control period, a starvation period, and a rehabilitation period. Through all these phases the men were subject to the same environmental conditions and testing procedures, so that it was possible to establish a set of standards regarded as normal and then to observe the effects of starvation and subsequent rehabilitation upon these standards.

The tests and measurements applied numbered in the hundreds, ranging "from the anthropometric to the psychiatric and included details of circulation, metabolism, psychomotor performance and responses to standardized stresses, as well as all ordinary items of medical examinations."<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that this testing program stressed not only the physiological characteristics developed during the three phases of the experiment, but also the psychological and activity-performance characteristics as well. The laboratory was well equipped with all the

<sup>2</sup>Ancel Keys, "Human Starvation and Its Consequences," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, XXII, 7 (July 1946), page 583.

material facilities necessary for this elaborate testing program.

### *The Control Period*

The first phase of the experiment was the control period of twelve weeks. The purpose here was to bring about a standardization of diet, activity, and living conditions for all the subjects, in order that the characteristics evidenced prior to starvation could be regarded as "normal" and correlated to specific environmental conditions. To achieve this end the men were subsisted on "a series of menus devised to be calorically adequate and reasonably 'normal' with regard to variety, food items and specific nutrients as eaten under good economic circumstances in the United States and northern Europe."<sup>3</sup> At the same time they were given a measured amount of work to perform, also regarded as "normal" activity. Thus by the end of the twelve weeks the responses of the subjects to the battery of tests and measurements were taken as standard or "normal" responses, and were used as a basis for evaluating the responses of the same subjects to the same tests during the ensuing periods of starvation and rehabilitation.

### *Starvation*

During this time (twenty-four weeks) the subjects were fed a diet approximating that available to the peoples of north central Europe during the war-famine period. "The major items were bread, potatoes and cereals, with considerable amounts of turnips and cabbage. Only token

<sup>3</sup>Keys, Brozek, Henschel, Mickelsen and Taylor, *Experimental Starvation in Man* (Minneapolis: The Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, October 15, 1945), page 15.

amounts of meat and dairy products were provided.”<sup>4</sup> Meals were served twice a day during the week, and once on Sunday. Three different daily menus were used in rotation. At the midpoint and the close of the starvation period the men were subjected to the full battery of tests and measurements.

### *Rehabilitation*

The rehabilitation period of the experiment began after the subjects had been on the starvation rations for twenty-four weeks. At that point they were divided into four groups, as nearly equal as possible, each of which was fed a diet differing from the others in calorie, protein, and vitamin content. Within each group half the subjects received supplementary portions of proteins and vitamins. Thus the plan of the experiment made it possible to compare the rate and quality of rehabilitation produced by four different diets, and to estimate the relative effects of calories, vitamins, and proteins in contributing to this growth.

After twelve weeks of controlled rehabilitation all restrictions were removed and the men were free to leave, but a call was made for twelve volunteers to remain under further test and observation for another two months. Volunteers were secured and the findings on these proved highly valuable. In March 1946, some eight months after the end of semistarvation, arrangements were made for follow-up examinations. Twenty-one of the former subjects were examined in this way. Finally, it was possible to return some of the men to the laboratory in September of 1946 for several days of study. Thus the total period

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

covered by the data amounted to twenty-two months.<sup>5</sup>

The contribution of the experiment to science is beyond question. Knowledge of the effects in man of under-nutrition and famine, and the needs for rehabilitation, was immensely increased. Director Keys, in discussing the results of the experiment, stated:

It is entirely clear that the Minnesota Experiment succeeded in recapitulating the essential features of European famine. Numerous conferences here and abroad have verified the opinion expressed by Major Marvin Corlette, M. C. . . .

"In mid July 1945, it was my pleasure in company with Colonel John B. Youmans, Director, Nutrition Division, SGO, and Dr. V. P. Sydenstricker, Professor of Medicine, University of Georgia, to visit the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene . . . at the University of Minnesota. The purpose of this visit was to observe a group of . . . conscientious objectors who had been on semi-starvation diets of about 1600 calories for the preceding six months. These men had been on a preliminary three months' standardization period, prior to their starvation, during which time their caloric intakes and energy expenditures were equilibrated at about 3300 calories. During the starvation period, the energy expenditures of the subjects had been kept at the 3300 calorie level.

"The picture presented by these men was a most striking one exhibiting as they did an average weight loss of about 40 pounds. Most had gaunt pinched faces and the peculiar sallow color that those of us who had seen the concentration camps in Western Eu-

<sup>5</sup>Detailed observations and findings of the experiment have been given in several publications of the laboratory staff. Among these are *The Research Project at the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, on Starvation and Nutritional Rehabilitation* (Minneapolis: Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, May 20, 1945); Keys, Brozek, Henschel, Mickelsen and Taylor, *Experimental Starvation in Man* (Minneapolis: Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, October 15, 1945); Keys, Taylor, Mickelsen, Henschel and Brozek assisted by Simonson, Sturgeon and Wells, *Rehabilitation Following Experimental Starvation in Man* (Minneapolis: Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, January 15, 1946). A book, *The Biology of Human Starvation*, is now in publication and will contain a thorough treatment of the laboratory experiment.

A brief and nontechnical account of the experiment and particularly of the application of the findings to practical relief administration is given in, Paul H. Bowman, Jr. and Harold S. Guetzkow, *Men and Hunger* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1946).

rope had learned to associate at a glance with starvation. At least 65% of the subjects had demonstrable dependent edema and many had brownish pigmentation of their skin. Practically all exhibited a pronounced sinus bradycardia with resting pulse rates in the low thirties.

"These were the salient clinical features of the picture we saw at Minneapolis, and it very closely simulated the picture of semi-starvation seen in Western Holland as well as in some of the German concentration camps in the early spring of 1945. Except for the absence of filth and secondary skin infections in the experimental subjects, it appears that the fundamental clinical pattern of partial starvation as we observed it in Europe has been duplicated."<sup>6</sup>

#### THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND RELIEF TRAINING

The major educational emphasis of the unit was preparation for foreign relief and rehabilitation service, although the individual members were not limited to this field of activity but were encouraged to select studies which would best fit their interests and future vocational plans.

The relief and rehabilitation training program was oriented principally toward opportunities for service in France, Germany, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and Latin America, since it seemed likely that the sponsoring agencies would operate in these areas when war-devastated countries were open to relief efforts. Those who chose the relief and rehabilitation program as their major educational project strove to attain the following qualifications: (1) a spiritual basis of personal life, (2) facility with the appropriate foreign language, and (3) particular skills likely to be useful in the field. These qualifications, listed in the order of importance, were "kept con-

<sup>6</sup>From a statement furnished the author by Director Keys, December 31, 1947, page 1 ff.

stantly in mind by the staff, and . . . by all men in the unit as the year's program developed."<sup>7</sup>

As has been noted, one half of the project time was available for educational activities. In the first three months of the experiment, members of the unit, in a total average work week of fifty-three hours, were able to spend twenty-six hours per week on education, and twenty-seven hours per week on assigned laboratory work.<sup>8</sup> By the midpoint of the six months' period of semistarvation, however, the effects of starvation became sufficiently marked that it was necessary to institute changes in the educational program to coincide with the rate of debilitation among the men.

Those assignees assisting in phases of the experiment other than as subjects, the "overhead," were responsible to the laboratory (or CPS) for forty-eight hours of work per week, and thus were not able to devote as much time to educational activities as the starvation subjects did.

Since the major educational interest of the unit was relief training, a number of courses were developed to contribute to this concern. Through an arrangement with the university extension division two courses of ten weeks each were offered to the men by members of the university faculty. Enrollment in the first, *National and Local Governments of Western Europe*, was twenty-six;<sup>9</sup> and in the second, *Topics in Social Work*, was twenty-three.<sup>10</sup> University credit for this work was granted to those members desiring it.

After these courses were completed a series of lectures

<sup>7</sup>University of Minnesota "Guinea Pig" Unit, *Summary Report of Education Program, November 15, 1944–October 20, 1945* (mimeographed report), page 1.

<sup>8</sup>Third Progress Report on Educational Program, February 17, 1945, page 5.

<sup>9</sup>Summary of Education Program, January 25, 1945, page 1.

<sup>10</sup>Fourth Progress Report on Educational Program, April 30, 1945, page 3.



on public health conditions in foreign countries was arranged. Meanwhile foreign-language study was progressing daily. Conversation courses in French, Spanish, and German were taught by four unit members. Approximately forty men participated in this phase of the program.<sup>11</sup> In May, Paul H. Bowman, Jr., began instruction in principles of relief work. For this course he drew upon various studies in the field, the history of private and public relief agencies, and his own experience of several years in such work abroad. Laboratory staff members contributed to the educational program by offering a Red Cross course on nutrition, lectures on physiology, and a short course in laboratory techniques.

In addition to participation in the specific unit-sponsored courses, the men who were interested in future relief work organized into six special study groups during the year. They were: (1) community life, (2) economic life and co-operatives, (3) recreation as therapy, (4) nutrition, (5) psychology, moral structure and breakdown, and (6) the relationship of peace philosophy to techniques of relief work. These study groups were affected adversely by the debilitation of the stress period, however, and did not achieve significant results.

To gain practical field experience in relief work, the men were urged to participate in various kinds of group work in the near-by communities. It was hoped that such a course would keep the training program from becoming too academic and theoretical. Twenty-three men participated in activities of this type, working at settlement houses, youth centers, for a neighborhood recreation association, and for an interracial co-op store.

<sup>11</sup>*Third Progress Report . . . , page 3.*



The unit members were quick to take advantage of the resources of the university by enrolling in a number of classes. In January 1945 thirty-two men were enrolled in fifty-four courses,<sup>12</sup> with an additional number auditing work. By April the men were increasing their academic diet; thirty-six men were participating in fifty-six different courses.<sup>13</sup> During the spring quarter the semi-starvation men were averaging two courses per man.<sup>14</sup>

A roster of visitors and speakers at the unit, published in the education reports, indicates that guest speakers of excellent caliber visited the unit on an average of twice a week. Other outside contacts were established as members of the project were invited to appear before local groups to describe the laboratory experiment.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the achievements of the education program were noted by the unit secretary in the following terms:

Probably the most important results of the year's educational activities are intangible: vocational plans have been modified, or men have come to see with greater clarity what factors bear upon vocational choices, speaking knowledge of foreign languages has been gained, men have acquired work experience in different kinds of jobs, many have materially furthered their educational and cultural development, all of us have learned a great deal about foreign relief work experience and opportunities, and certainly the starvation subjects have grown immeasurably in spiritual perception and appreciation of the consequences of starvation, as a result of their experience.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup>*Summary of Education Program, January 25, 1945, page 2.*

<sup>13</sup>*Fourth Progress Report . . . , page 3.*

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>The Minnesota experiment attracted the interest not only of local groups in the Minneapolis area, but of many others as well. Several of the national news-gathering agencies released accounts of the project. Articles were also featured in nationally circulated magazines, including the *Reader's Digest*, *Life*, *Time*, and *Liberty*.

<sup>16</sup>. . . *Summary Report of Education Program, November 15, 1944–October 20, 1945, page 2.*

*Other Activities*

In spite of a full program, the assignees found time to participate in several other campus, community and unit activities, particularly in the early months of the experiment before the effects of the starvation regimen had depleted their strength.

One of the most successful ventures of the group was a food-packaging program for European relief, begun during the period of severe starvation stress. In co-operation with a Fellowship of Reconciliation chapter in Minneapolis and friends, the men assembled gift boxes of food, toilet articles, and small items of clothing. "By October 20 [1945], close to two hundred boxes had been sent, at an average cost per box of between four and five dollars."<sup>17</sup> This good work inspired at least two other community groups to initiate food packaging.

Cordial relations were maintained between unit members and a number of different churches in the Twin Cities area. The men assisted in choir work and young people's programs, and spoke at church retreats and church conferences. In addition several devotional and worship services of an informal type were initiated by a group within the unit.

Advantage was taken of the opportunity to join in the cultural life of the area. Some of the men took an active role in the productions of the university theatre and others assisted in musical programs. The participation of the men in the life of the campus and the community was noted by the educational secretary as, in reporting on a postwar problems conference sponsored by the students of the university, he pointed out:

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, page 6.

Two members of the unit had prominent parts in this conference: Max M. Kampelman was a member of a panel debating the merits of postwar conscription, and Ralph Michener spoke on a panel discussing world federation. I mention this here as typical of the unit's relationship to the campus and community up to this point, rather than as a special case deserving particular mention.<sup>18</sup>

Another unit development of note was the organization of a "local" of the CPS union. This group was active in their program, and among other items of business undertook to finance a public-opinion poll to ascertain public reaction to the conscientious objector. In this they were successful, raising the necessary four hundred dollars. The results of the survey were "surprisingly favorable to C. O.'s, and have since received national attention."<sup>19</sup>

#### PRACTICAL USES OF THE MINNESOTA EXPERIMENT

The knowledge gained from the Minnesota project has been studied extensively by many groups and officials of the United States and of other nations in their efforts to meet the problems of famine and relief feeding arising from the Second World War. Their uses of the experiment, as discussed by Director Keys, have included the following significant developments.

The findings have been provided, in advance of final analysis, to all major groups concerned in relief work and problems of food and nutrition throughout the world. Besides a constant heavy correspondence, the Laboratory has been visited by a great many officials and experts who wanted to consult on the application of the Minnesota experiment to the actual day-to-day problems in all parts of the world. Official representatives and delegations have come

<sup>18</sup>*Fourth Progress Report . . .*, page 6.

<sup>19</sup>. . . *Summary Report of Education Program, November 15, 1944–October 20, 1945*, page 6. See page 413 for additional information about the CPS Union and the public-opinion poll.

from Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, England, India, China, the Netherlands East Indies, Brazil, Chile, Puerto Rico, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, The Netherlands, France, Switzerland and Poland.

In the United States the Minnesota experiment has been extensively used by the Departments of State, War, and Agriculture. In the proceedings of the food and nutrition board of the National Research Council, July 21, 1947, the following statement was made . . . :

In December 1946, the Committee on Emergency Food Problems prepared a memorandum on questions submitted by the Cabinet Committee on World Food Programs. Part I of the memorandum was entitled "Calorie Consumption Levels and Their Relation to Health, Well-being, and Capacity for Work." The major portion of the material used in this report was prepared by Dr. Keys. . . . this report . . . has been of great value to all government agencies concerned with the planning of the food export program.

There are ample evidences of the widespread interest in the Minnesota experiment. It is more difficult to discover the extent to which the experiment has actually influenced food and relief programs and plannings. In general, it would seem that application of the findings has been made in several ways:

(1) Evaluation of the degree of undernutrition in individuals and population groups in areas of food shortage. The experiment provided detailed criteria and objective standards for diagnosis.

(2) Knowledge on the work capacity of underfed people. From the experiment it is possible to estimate the effects of a given degree of undernutrition on the capacity for different types of work.

(3) Understanding of psychological problems. The experiment showed the important effects on personality, emotion and outlook of food deprivation, and pointed out significant consequences for social and political problems.

(4) Medical dangers in semistarvation. The experiment disclosed the development of weaknesses and associated dangers in the starved body.

(5) Caloric needs for rehabilitation. The experiment showed that the dietary level for effective rehabilitation is much higher than

previously thought; the inadequacy of most relief programs was made clear.

(6) The place of special vitamin and protein supplements in rehabilitation. The experiment showed that simple relief foods, in relative abundance, are all that is required in the great majority of cases; extra proteins and vitamins are not generally needed when the famine diet has been of the European type.

(7) The persistence of starvation effects. The experiment showed that even under the most favorable circumstances full rehabilitation after semistarvation requires many months of abundant and good diet. Restoration of lost weight alone is not a good criterion; functional recovery is much slower.

I believe it is correct to say that all who were intimately concerned with the Minnesota experiment—CPS and staff men alike—are convinced that it was more than successful in a technical sense. The results have provided knowledge and understanding which have stimulated larger and more effective relief operations. The total of human sympathy has been increased; the burden of suffering has been reduced. The experiment itself was a unique example of co-operation by many individuals and organizations representing highly diverse views in some other respects. The use of the objectivity and advanced methods of science for the ends of Christian charity is not unique but it is rare. We hope that the experiment may prove an object lesson in improving the effectiveness of good will.<sup>20</sup>

The above summary of the uses of the Minnesota experiment and the motivation behind it expresses the spirit of the entire project. For the CPS men who offered themselves as subjects, for the scientists who labored with meticulous care, for the agencies who sponsored and supported the project, and for the starved peoples of the world, the venture was indeed fruitful.

<sup>20</sup>From the statement furnished the author by Director Keys.

## CHAPTER 10

### Relief Training and Service Units

During the course of the Civilian Public Service program several units devoted to relief and rehabilitation training and service were established under the administration of the Brethren Service Committee. Among those developed in the early years, 1942-1943, were the Lagro China Unit, the Crestview-Tallahassee Unit, the Martin G. Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit, the Columbia Training Unit, the Manchester Training Unit, and the Philadelphia Research Unit. In the last years of Brethren CPS additional special projects were established whereby assignees were detailed to work in various relief depots of the Brethren, and to service aboard ships carrying livestock to Europe. The motivation behind the establishment of these projects stemmed, in the main, from the intense interest of the church agencies and a large segment of the assignee population in work of this nature. To most of the participants in these projects it seemed particularly appropriate for conscientious objection to war to be expressed in terms of a positive service to mankind. Relief work was felt to be such a service.

#### THE LAGRO CHINA UNIT

The first Brethren Civilian Public Service unit established for relief and rehabilitation work was the Lagro

China Unit. This was a small group of assignees, fourteen in number,<sup>1</sup> selected from volunteers over the United States and brought together at Camp Lagro to complete preparations for what was expected to be two years of ambulance and emergency relief work in China. The men assembled in camp in February 1942. In addition to the assignee members the group included Dr. Carl Coffman, who had previously served in China as a medical missionary.

The training period at Lagro was used to study the Chinese language, first aid, and elementary medical procedures. Instruction in relief techniques was offered by Howard Sollenberger, an experienced worker from the China field. Through a special arrangement with Selective Service the group was freed from regular camp project work in order to devote full time to these activities. During this period also a large quantity of drugs and medical and surgical supplies was bought and packed.

As the six weeks' term of training drew toward a close and as negotiations for transportation to China were being concluded, the plans of the unit for foreign service were blocked by a refusal of the State Department to grant passports to the conscientious objectors. Although no official reason was given it was understood by some that the government did "not wish to be represented abroad by C.O.'s who were drafted and therefore in a semi-official capacity."<sup>2</sup> Shortly after this refusal the unit was assigned to emergency duty at the tornado-stricken town

<sup>1</sup>The fourteen were: J. Gladden Boaz, Charles Butcher, Frederick E. Kidder, Melvin F. Funk, Nelson Fuson, Elmer E. Hartzler, Richard Lockwood, Raymond Long, Dale Nebel, Harold Phend, Howard Sollenberger, James Stanley, John Swan, and Paul Weaver.

<sup>2</sup>James Stanley, "China Unit," in *The History of CPS Camp No. 6, Lagro, Indiana*, by W. Earl Griffin.

of Goshen, Indiana. After a month in Goshen the unit was brought back to Lagro and officially disbanded. Eventually several members of the unit were detailed to the Castañer rehabilitation project in Puerto Rico.

Although the failure to secure approval for the China unit to work abroad was a great disappointment to its members and sponsors and, indeed, to a large number of campers over the United States who hoped for similar assignments, those interested in relief continued to seek opportunities for training and service. Their persistent efforts were finally rewarded with the establishment of the Columbia Unit in August 1942.

#### THE COLUMBIA UNIT

The Columbia Unit consisted of a group of fifteen assignees selected to participate in a special training program in international administration offered by Columbia University. These men were transferred from their regular CPS project work to the university campus in New York where they were free to give full time to their study. Seven of the men were sponsored by the Brethren,<sup>3</sup> seven by the Friends, and one by the Catholics. Financial aid also came from others, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Methodists. University scholarships were made available as well, and in a few instances the men helped support themselves.

The program offered by the university was designed to train both civilian and military personnel. Of the total course enrollment approximately thirty per cent were CPS assignees, fifty per cent were naval officers and the

<sup>3</sup>The seven were: Tarrt Bell, Nelson Fuson, Howard Gustafson, Eugene F. Kidder, Rufus B. King, Earnest Snavely, and Charles Webb.



remaining twenty per cent were civilians. It was hoped that from the association of the military personnel with the civilians the problems of each might be better understood by the other. This seemed important for it was expected that in the administration of foreign areas, civilian and military agencies often would be working together within the same region.

As announced by the university the program of training was aimed to develop personnel capable of assuming administrative posts within occupied or liberated areas. The CPS group was especially concerned with relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction, and the problems attendant to the administration of successful programs in these fields. The period of study extended over one year, beginning in August 1942. Included in the curriculum were general courses designed to furnish background to the total group, as well as intensive specialized courses related to the specific geographic area in which the individual trainee expected to serve. These latter studies included language training and a survey of the historical, political, legal, social, geographic, and economic features of the area. In addition to the university staff, use was made of experts from civil and official life who were experienced administrators in the fields under study. Schuyler C. Wallace and Philip Jessup, of the Columbia University faculty, directed the training program.

Although the immediate goal of the training program was achieved in the sense that the assignees were prepared in a very thorough manner for relief service, the ultimate goal of foreign assignments for CPS men was not realized. This development was the result of action by the United States Congress in the summer of 1943.

At that time Congress approved a bill which, in effect, forbade the use of conscientious objectors outside of the United States and its territories and possessions. Two men of the Brethren group, however, Rufus B. King and Howard Gustafson, were able to utilize their training through service in the Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit. A third, Charles Webb, found opportunity for foreign service in a post-CPS assignment.

#### THE MANCHESTER COLLEGE UNIT AND THE PHILADELPHIA RESEARCH CENTER

Following the approval by Selective Service of the Columbia Training Unit in the summer of 1942, the church agencies continued to press for further opportunities in relief training and service. By the spring of 1943 they secured the approval of Selective Service and of other government agencies for the establishment of a greatly enlarged relief program. On April 21 of that year an order from the office of Director Lewis B. Hershey established CPS 101, a foreign relief and rehabilitation project to be jointly administered by the Brethren, the Friends, and the Mennonites.<sup>4</sup> Early plans called for the establishment of a unit headquarters and research center in Philadelphia with additional full-time training units at various colleges and universities. The college centers were to provide a corps of relief and reconstruction workers for service around the world during and following the war. The Philadelphia center was envisioned as a unit

<sup>4</sup>CPS Unit 99 was also a part of the expanded relief program. This was the Chungking, or China unit. Over-all supervision of this unit was furnished by the American Friends Service Committee, with the Brethren and the Mennonites sharing in the project. CPS 99 was disbanded by the same action of Congress that disbanded the CPS Unit 101. (Page 320.)

which would prepare study materials for the use of the CPS men in the camps and which would undertake such other research as would be useful to relief agencies. Dr. Eldon Burke was appointed director of the Brethren section of the Philadelphia unit.

With the enthusiastic support of the assignees, who had been eagerly awaiting opportunity for relief service, the Brethren began immediately to lay the groundwork for the college program. Comprehensive long-term plans were outlined by M. R. Zigler, W. Harold Row, Leland S. Brubaker, and Andrew W. Cordier, and arrangements were made for opening a unit at Manchester College,<sup>5</sup> North Manchester, Indiana. Dr. Cordier was secured to direct the unit. Careful selection of some seventy men from Brethren CPS was made, and on June 7, 1943, the assignees assembled on the Manchester campus.

At that time the Manchester program was thought of as the first step in a large relief and rehabilitation training program. Those selected were not promised a relief assignment abroad or further training beyond the ten weeks planned, though it was hoped that one or more of these possibilities would be available for many of the group.

Living quarters for the trainees were furnished in the men's dormitory, and meals were provided at the college dining hall. Because of the heavy demands of the program and the shortness of the training period, practically all of the activities of the men were related to relief study.

The program as set up emphasized an over-all study

<sup>5</sup>The Friends and the Mennonites likewise planned for college units similar to that at Manchester.

of the geographical areas in which relief work might be done, the methods and techniques of relief administration, and the broad spiritual, political, and social implications of relief work. Seven major courses were offered during the two five-week sessions. These included one on contemporary Asia (the Brethren hoped to place workers in China) and a second on contemporary Europe. A third course considered problems of reconstruction. Two courses dealt with topics in social work, and two with relief administration. Because of the shortness of the sessions, language study was postponed to later training periods.

In addition to intensive morning sessions of lectures and discussion, the training program included work in individual creative skills. Each day in the late afternoon the group divided into small sections emphasizing auto mechanics, agriculture, construction methods, home nursing, care of clothing, public health and sanitation, community development, and food and nutrition. Each of these interest groups shared the results of their study with the total unit. At the close of each day a period was devoted to meditation in the college chapel.

A faculty of excellent calibre, including Manchester College staff members and a large group of outside talent, contributed greatly to the informative and inspirational sessions. In addition to local professors, Director Cordier, Dr. C. Ray Keim, Prof. O. W. Neher, Dr. Lucille Carmen, and Miss Grace Eshelman, other prominent Brethren educators, including Dr. Paul H. Bowman, Dr. F. E. Mallott and Dr. W. W. Slabaugh, contributed to the curriculum. Brethren relief workers, John Barwick, Howard Solenberger, and Dan West presented analyses of Brethren

relief work in England, Puerto Rico, China, and Spain. Mennonite relief experiences were reviewed by Dr. M. C. Lehman and Dr. Ernest Miller of Goshen College. The relief work of the Friends was described by Clarence Pickett and Howard Kershner and by Dr. John W. Nason of Swarthmore College. Additional resource leaders were Dr. John L. Gillin of the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Chester Bower of Western Reserve University, Dr. Arthur Swift, Dr. Morris Mitchell, Dr. Arthur Morgan, Paul Comly French, Dr. Robert Hoppock of New York University, and Dr. Ammon Swope of Purdue University.

The Manchester training program was received enthusiastically by the participants, and the plan was progressing well until, in June 1943, Congressional action put an end to Unit 101. At that time Congress clearly indicated its disapproval of the college projects and the service of conscientious objectors outside of the United States and its territories and possessions. Through a provision in the War Department appropriation bill the use of government funds for such projects was prohibited. This action was interpreted as a judgment that "only fighting men and fighting equipment should be sent overseas as representative of this government,"<sup>6</sup> and that the war effort would be best furthered by using shipping space for the armed forces. This was the same proviso that eliminated the foreign service prospects of the men of the Columbia Unit.

In spite of the keen disappointment which this enactment brought to the CPS men, they maintained a vigorous interest in the program until its close in August. During the last weeks the Brethren administrators worked

<sup>6</sup>"Foreign Service Units," *The Reporter*, II, 3 (August 1, 1943), page 2.

to re-assign the unit members as nearly as possible according to their qualifications, preferences, and available openings. As finally concluded the transfers provided for the return of some of the men to base camps, where, it was hoped, they would be able to share their knowledge and experience and to assist in contemplated special schools. Others were detailed to the Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit and to the Crestview project. Still others returned to mental hospitals and to the Hopewell farm.

Meanwhile, the Philadelphia Research Center, which was at the beginning of its development, was also eliminated by the same Congressional enactment. A modified program was maintained, however, under the direction of Dr. Burke without the services of the CPS assignees. One of the outcomes of the work at the research center was the book, *Puerto Rico: Unsolved Problem* by Assignees Earl S. Garver and Ernest B. Fincher.

The action of Congress in prohibiting foreign relief service for the conscientious objectors was a serious blow to morale within the CPS units. Many of the men were not only deeply disappointed over the lack of opportunity to serve in areas of need, but in addition interpreted the ruling as indicating a diminished regard by Congress for freedom of conscience.

#### ASSIGNMENTS TO RELIEF DEPOTS

With the closing of Unit 101 in 1943 the opportunities for full-time relief training and service within Brethren CPS were greatly curtailed. Not until two years later, in August 1945, were new projects established through which assignees could be detailed to relief work. At that

time Selective Service approved a plan whereby a limited number of conscientious objectors could be assigned to service in the relief program being sponsored by the Church of the Brethren. The work was that of assisting at the church relief depots and centers located in the United States.<sup>7</sup> At the peak of this CPS project a total of between seventy and eighty men were utilized in this manner. The monthly average of the unit, however, ranged between thirty and forty men. The largest groups from the total quota were assigned to the relief centers at New Windsor, Maryland, and Modesto, California. Small groups ranging from two to six or more were located at the Nappanee, Indiana, and Dayton, Ohio, depots. The Wenatchee Canning Unit and the Heifer Project Committee also received some help from CPS assignees. At these several centers the CPS men served to supplement the other workers in the relief program of the Brethren in already-established projects.

Within this special project the Brethren Service Committee acted as both the CPS administrative agency and the agency using the men. Thus, in addition to the usual details of the CPS routine, the service committee was likewise responsible for directing the daily work activities of the assignees. This latter function was cared for by the managers of the local centers.

The daily work of the men included participation in practically all the activities of the local centers. A number were assigned to the processing of relief clothing. They helped sort, repair, and bale the goods for shipment.

<sup>7</sup>Several of the relief centers were supervised by the Brethren, but were affiliated with the Church Committee on Relief and Rehabilitation, and with the Church World Service organization. These were co-operative interdenominational agencies established to co-ordinate nation-wide church relief activities.



Some assignees were truck drivers, responsible for the collection and delivery of the relief materials. Food sorting and packing was a major assignment also, as was shoe repairing. At New Windsor some men assisted with the heifers-for-relief project, and at Nappanee others helped in soapmaking. Meanwhile, assignees were also detailed to maintenance jobs as carpenters, plumbers, painters, and other construction workers, and to various office duties necessary to the operation of the centers. A description of the relief program at the New Windsor center affords insight into the type of work in which the men assisted. The excerpt is from a bulletin issued by New Windsor.

SIX MONTH'S RECORD SHOWS CENTER DID TWO MILLION DOLLAR  
RELIEF JOB

Exactly 2,019,350 pounds of relief clothing valued at almost two million dollars and 3,530,882 pounds of food valued at \$155,000 were shipped abroad from this Center during the first half of 1946.

Also shipped overseas in the same period were:

	<i>Pounds</i>	<i>Value</i>
Toys and tools .....	4,334	\$ 2,150
Soap .....	55,707	5,570
Medical supplies .....	3,095	2,349
Kitchen utensils .....	1,104	276
Field and garden seeds .....	66,838	33,364
Sewing thread .....	792	110

The sum total of shipments for the first six months of 1946 is 5,648,012 pounds of all goods with a value of \$2,156,592.17.

*Food Shipments Include Cereals*

The total amounts of food also include grains and cereals bought in carload lots with cash contributed for that purpose. By special arrangement with certain millers, the Center can purchase sixteen pounds of relief cereal containing ground wheat, oats, and soybean grits for \$1.00. One pound, or only six cents' worth of cereal, equals



a pound of cheese in food value and can feed an undernourished child for one day.

All of the goods listed above came from church, community, and individual donations. Shipments were made to sixteen countries, with local church officials doing much of the final distributing overseas.

#### *This Center One of Largest*

This volume of goods has made this Center one of the largest church relief goods depots in the United States. Not only are clothing, bedding, canned foods, and money received here, but the list of relief necessities has grown to include soap, candles, shoes, kitchen utensils, table ware, dolls, carpenter tools, mending supplies, cotton feed bags, and a number of other items needed abroad in war-stricken lands.<sup>8</sup>

Although the other Brethren centers handled a smaller volume of material, their work was similar in nature.

#### SEAGOING COWBOYS

In January 1946 there was established under Brethren administration the special CPS project known as the "seagoing cowboy" unit. The work of this group consisted of the shipboard care of livestock being sent to Europe by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The origin of the project may be traced in part to the activities of Benjamin G. Bushong, a Brethren in charge of securing livestock attendants for UNRRA shipments. Bushong, in co-operation with the Brethren CPS offices, urged the establishment of a program by which CPS men might be used for such livestock work. Negotiations with Selective Service, UNRRA and other official agencies were successful, and by February 1946 the first group of CPS assignees were

<sup>8</sup>*The Weekly Processor*, I, 21 (July 1, 1946), page 1. *The Weekly Processor* was a mimeographed newssheet issued by the New Windsor Center.

en route to Bremerhaven, Germany. Before the final closing of the project in December 1946 over three hundred fifty CPS men had made one or more trips to Europe. This group represented one section of the larger group of UNRRA employees also engaged in this same work.

The chief administrative responsibilities in the operation of the program were shared by the Brethren Service Committee and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.<sup>9</sup> The latter, as the agency using the men, assumed the major financial support of the project. They agreed to pay for the services of the livestock attendant the sum of \$150.00 for each round trip, and to provide medical care and compensation insurance for each assignee while outside of the United States. In addition they furnished an allowance of \$2.50 per day for each day the man remained in port after assignment to a ship, and prior to his signing as a member of the crew. UNRRA also paid the Brethren Service Committee an amount equal to three per cent of each attendant's pay. This money was to defray administrative expenses and to provide recreational, educational, and religious materials for the use of the attendants. The administrative responsibility for handling of the crews was delegated by UNRRA to the Brethren Service Committee. The service committee, in turn, functioned through the office of Benjamin Bushong at New Windsor, Maryland, and through the national Brethren CPS office at Elgin, Illinois. Assisting in the administration of the program at the New Windsor office were Assignees Charles Frantz, Charles Brashares, Raymond Hartman, and others.

<sup>9</sup>*Camp Directors Bulletin No. 170* of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors outlines the several responsibilities of the participants in the plan.

The responsibilities of the service committee included the initiation and supervision of the many detailed procedures necessary to the operation of the plan. Volunteers were needed for the project. These were secured readily from CPS units over the United States, for the program was received enthusiastically by the assignees. Arrangements were provided for quartering the men between trips at the New Windsor relief center, and later at Newport News, Virginia, as well. At New Windsor the assignees worked in the relief center while awaiting their second or subsequent shipping assignments. Maintenance of the men during such a period was the responsibility of the service committee. The Brethren administration was also responsible for the assignment of the men to the ships and for the office details of the program such as arranging furloughs, acting as a fiscal agent in the disbursement of funds collected from UNRRA, and maintaining the official forms and records required by that agency and by Selective Service. A special program of religious, educational, and recreational assistance was also undertaken, although the shifting and transient nature of the project made a continuous or group-centered program impossible. Most work of this kind was confined to provision of books and religious literature for use on shipboard, provision of recreation equipment, and the arranging of contact persons for the assignees to visit while in Europe. Individual counseling was available also to some degree. While at New Windsor the "cowboys" were able to use the many resources there and to join in the community activities of the center.

Through assignment to the livestock attendant project the men acquired a status slightly different from that of

the regular CPS assignees. Technically they became members of the Civilian Public Service Reserves. For each round trip completed (trips ranged from four to eight or nine weeks) they received \$150.00. From this amount, however, they were required to pay their transportation expenses to the port of embarkation, and to provide transportation to their homes upon discharge. Transportation expenses, except for the return home were equalized among the members of the unit through a "pooling" arrangement. As part of the final arrangements prior to sailing the men were required to obtain seamen's papers, to undergo physical examinations, and to receive certain immunization injections.

### *The Shipboard Routine*

Life aboard a cattle boat at sea was a new experience to most assignees. In eager anticipation the Civilian Public Service Reserves prepared for the journey. They packed their sea bags with clothing, books, stationery, and packages of food for destitute individuals in foreign ports whose addresses had been furnished them. After the complications and red tape of visits to the War Shipping Administration, the Coast Guard, and the United States Shipping Commissioner's office, they boarded the livestock carriers.

The vessels included modern Victory and Liberty ships as well as some that had seen decades of service. Many bore colorful names such as *Zona Gale*, *Virginian*, *Mexican*, and *John J. Crittenden*. The ships' facilities included bunks, storage lockers, and salt water showers. The arrangements aboard ship were livable, but were seldom comfortable.

The primary concern of the attendants was the care of the animals aboard the ships. Especially on the trips over, their work occupied most of their time. On the return trips, however, the men had more leisure. The daily schedule of work began when the night watchman awakened the crews for the feeding of the horses or cattle at 6:00 a.m. After breakfast at 7:30-8:30, the men watered the animals, and then began the daily cleaning, scraping the floors of the stalls and washing the aisles with salt water. One attendant spoke for many when he described the difficult chore of cleaning the stalls from behind. "A horse is often quite a different personality fore and aft . . . ." <sup>10</sup> After the midday meal, the cleaning was finished. Hay and oats were then hoisted up from the hold and the animals were fed and watered. This routine was followed by each attendant, who had from twenty-five to thirty horses in his care. The men took a great interest in the animals. However, in spite of their efforts and those of the experienced veterinarian who always sailed with a shipment, a number of animals were lost.

One assignee aboard the S.S. *Luckenbach* described the work in these terms:

We have horses aboard. 579 now. . . . None of my 32 have died. . . . [At first] walking down between a double row of waving heads who can bite each other across the aisle was a real task. . . . None of mine are mean and I've settled down the ornery ones.<sup>11</sup>

Further insight is given into the work aboard ship by a livestock attendant writing in his diary at dawn as the ship made for Trieste.

<sup>10</sup> "Notes from Cowboys," *Marine Bull Pen*, I, 3 (April 26, 1946), page 2. The *Marine Bull Pen* was a newsheet carrying reports on the livestock attendant project.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

The stables are quite narrow and when a horse lies down (she isn't supposed to during the trip) she usually lies down with her front feet sticking out through the boards at the front of the stable. When she wants to get back up again she can't do it because her front feet slip and she can't get them under her. In a couple cases we have used a block and tackle around her shoulders to pull her back so she can get up. At other times if there are more men around we just take a hold of her tail and halter and pull her around. . . .

It's almost time to call the boys now. We found the 12th horse dead on our last round just now . . . . We are really stuffing them with hay. We have more than twice enough for the trip and if they have plenty they are quieter. Some of the better mares are certainly getting around to the place where they have nice sleek coats on them.<sup>12</sup>

At the destination, the process of unloading a ship was interesting. On dock the spectators and the workers watched as cables were lowered from large booms into the hold, then were fastened to the cargo, raised, and swung over and lowered to the dock. The unloading was described by an attendant in this manner:

We brought some single stalls along with us from New York. When they were ready to unload the horses, they would drive them into the stalls, close the door and lift the entire stall with the horses in it out on to the dock. When they opened the door, incidentally, the horse almost went wild. These horses had been tied up for at least 20 days and on their feet almost the entire time. They would kick up their heels and break down along the dock, which was just a wide strip of land with stone edges. And they would really run!

About everyone in our crew had the time of their lives. They were out helping to catch them and were riding them around the dock bareback. You can imagine the good time the boys and horses both had after all that time on the sea.

<sup>12</sup>Byron P. Royer, *A Seagoing Cowboy in Italy*, page 26 (a journal of a livestock attendant; mimeographed, ninety-five pages). Although Royer was not an assignee, his descriptions are typical of the experiences of the conscientious objectors.

The Mexican [another UNRRA cattle boat] pulled into port and docked right in front of us on our second day in. They came over with a load of cows and horses and when they started unloading, too, there were cows and horses running all over the dock area. You should have seen it. They even got down to the gate where we went out to go to town. The Limey guards there at the gate had to keep chasing them back to keep them from going out the gate without authorized passes from the captain.<sup>13</sup>

During the periods off duty, the seagoing cowboys found the hours filled with new experiences. There was little organized recreation on the ships, but the attendants were at no loss for diversions. Many spent hours talking with the crews aboard, men far different from the Mennonites, Brethren, Friends, Methodists, and others who made up the CPS Reserves. Relations were usually friendly and much was gained in exchange of points of view. On return trips the boats sometimes carried a load of servicemen, homeward bound after years or months of action. With them, too, the CPS cowboys talked and exchanged experiences. Often recreational, educational, and religious materials were furnished for the men by the Brethren CPS Reserve administrative staff.

Though there was a great deal of variation in the trips, many of the attendants can recall experiences such as these: vesper services on a gun mount pointing out to sea with the salt spray in their faces as they sang lined hymns; the water throwing up its phosphorescent waves and porpoises making fiery streaks as they broke through the waves; the calm radiant path of the moon on the water from the horizon to the ship; and a storm at sea about which one cowboy wrote, "I didn't mind the roll-

■ *Ibid.*, page 58.



ing so much and the dipping of the side almost to the water, but when it would seem to rare up like an animal and growl like that, I would just as soon have been in Indiana."<sup>14</sup>

The time spent in visiting foreign ports varied from three or four days to two weeks. The cowboys sent back reports of appalling destruction in Polish cities; of mined harbors, and live hand grenades lying around the docks at Trieste; of the families who welcomed them and shared their meagre rations; of the German woman in a Polish port who earned only a loaf of bread a day; of tiny villages nestled in the hills of Italy with cobblestone streets, where women knelt to wash clothing in open flumes of water, and of half-hidden courtyards; of coming suddenly on a German graveyard, overlooking an Italian harbor, with five hundred wooden markers over the graves that lay silent in the sun; of roadside chapels badly bombed and unrepaired, but where people knelt and worshiped. The cowboys saw men eagerly examine the contents of the ship's garbage cans and watched people enter hovels of rubble and bombed stones for shelter at night. One attendant summed up the impressions thus: "One gets from such a trip . . . a first hand witness of ruin and the condition of Europe now. One begins to feel the psychology of want, despair, indecision, confusion . . . ." <sup>15</sup> The same observer pointed out, "We were hitting at the 'grass roots' when we brought in livestock and farm implements and fertilizer. . . . We can bring them food, but if we go farther and provide tools so they can start producing themselves, it's an improvement." <sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, page 71.

<sup>15</sup>Letter of Arthur Lentz to David Lindsey, March 5, 1946, page 1.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*



Such were the projects within Brethren CPS concerned with relief training and service. In the first years, the training program seemed to offer opportunities for the development of a well-planned, comprehensive relief program. Beyond the training period many of the conscientious objectors looked to assignments in foreign lands where the destruction of the war was raging and where the need for service was great. The action of Congress in precluding foreign assignments and college training units ended, for a time at least, the program under way. Fortunately, however, the legal restrictions did not apply to the territories and possessions of the United States, and on the island of Puerto Rico a project was established which offered opportunity for conscientious objectors to serve in a rehabilitation project of far-reaching significance.

## CHAPTER 11

### Castaner and the Martin G. Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit

Far to the south of the United States, in the Caribbean Sea, lies the small mountainous island of Puerto Rico. The island is one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the world. In 1942 from ninety to ninety-five percent of the income of the Puerto Ricans was spent for food, which meant, of course, that little or nothing was left for all the other needs of life.<sup>1</sup> It was to help meet these other needs, and more especially those of medical and social rehabilitation, that the Martin G. Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit was created.

#### BACKGROUNDS

By the spring of 1942 many CPS men had indicated a desire to aid in relief work abroad. The Brethren Service Committee, in an effort to provide an opportunity for such work, sent its chairman, Andrew W. Cordier, to explore the possibilities of establishing a special reconstruction project in Puerto Rico. In April Cordier visited the island, and, after investigation, returned to recommend that such a project be initiated. Selective Service approval was secured, and in June the official order establishing the Puerto Rico project was issued.

<sup>1</sup>Report of Andrew W. Cordier to the B.S.C., May 11, 1942, page 1.

From the outset it was determined that the work of this unit would center around the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (PRRA) and the series of rural rehabilitation projects which it had developed. This was a Federal agency created in 1935 to set in motion an island-wide program of reconstruction. Among their many enterprises—such as slum clearance and housing, construction of schools, building of roads, and development of electric power—were several rural rehabilitation projects.

The rehabilitation projects were established along the following lines. For each project PRRA purchased large, individually owned farms of several hundred acres and subdivided them into units of from one to five acres. On each unit they built a low-cost, hurricane-resistant house. These homesteads were then sold to the laboring farm class on a long-term payment basis. Each project included, in addition to the homesteads, a large central farm, and a community center. At the central farm the homesteaders had the opportunity of working for wages to supplement the living earned from their individual farms. There, also, they were able to secure scientific advice on the improvement of crops, the introduction of new crops, the breeding of livestock, and other farm problems. The community center included a medical dispensary, schools, playgrounds, recreational facilities, provision for a few small handcraft industries, and additional developments aimed at serving the needs of the people. Thus these projects represented a rather complete approach to the problem of rural rehabilitation. By 1942, however, many of the community services had been greatly curtailed or cut off completely, largely because a lack

of funds left the projects with insufficient personnel. It was at this point that the Brumbaugh unit was to serve. Basically, this unit furnished the personnel to carry out the community program of medical care, public health, and social service of these rural projects. The venture represented a co-operative enterprise between the PRRA and the Brethren Service Committee.

### FIRST DEVELOPMENTS

David Blickenstaff, first director of the unit, arrived on the island in June. He began immediately to establish all the necessary contacts for the undertaking. A series of conferences with the PRRA officials chiefly involved, namely, Guillermo Esteves and A. M. De Andino, and with representatives of the insular health department laid the basis for the development of the work. In August the first contingent of eleven CPS men and Doctors Daryl M. Parker and Carl F. Coffman landed.<sup>2</sup> The group proceeded at once to the PRRA project which had been chosen as the site of the initial endeavor. This was Castañer, located in a mountainous yet thickly populated area in the west central portion of the island. The need there for medical services was almost unbelievable. Cordier had pointed this out in his report to the service committee.

At Castañer . . . there is only a nurse. A doctor comes to the community twice a week. [Seventeen] miles from Castañer is the town of Lares, but they have only one doctor . . . [he] is seventy years old. In an opposite direction, thirteen miles away from Cas-

<sup>2</sup>Doctors who served in succeeding years included Franklin K. Cassel, Everett B. Myer, Francis Helfrick, Sylvia Helfrick, and Homer L. Burke. The eleven CPS men were: Dan E. Boehm, William P. Coston, Alden C. Douglass, George L. Furse, Jr., Dwight L. Hanawalt, Elmer E. Hartzler, Frederick E. Kidder, George E. Mason, Lawrence B. Moore, Howard E. Sollenberger, and Paul M. Weaver.

tañer is the town of Adjuntas with a population of . . . [4,000]. They have no doctor. Thus in a radius of fifteen miles from Castañer live a total of some 40,000 to 50,000 people with the services of only one doctor. This situation is characteristic of almost the whole of the interior section of the island.<sup>3</sup>

In the face of such need it was soon decided that a small rural hospital with outlying clinics would be the chief emphasis of the unit.

Since there was no hospital building at the project, it was necessary to construct one. This was done by remodeling an old barrack-type structure of the Civilian Conservation Corps model. For the first weeks and months this was the main activity of the unit. New concrete piers were installed to replace old sagging foundations; the floor was leveled; most of the wall sections were interchanged to give the desired arrangement of windows and doors; partitions were erected; the plumbing and electrical systems were overhauled; cabinets were constructed; the interior and the exterior were repainted. At the same time a beginning was made in other fields. This initial period of preparatory work was summarized well in a report of Director Blickenstaff.

For the first six weeks the activities of the unit have been centered around the complete reconstruction of a large barrack-type building to form a twenty-five bed hospital. This construction job has been carried out with materials supplied by the PRRA . . . the work being done by the men in the unit. The hospital building now includes a large kitchen and dining room, sterilizing room, obstetrics room, operating room, men's, women's, and children's wards, doctor's office, diagnostic laboratory, and X-ray room. . . . Before the hospital was completed, the doctors had already been busy on many minor surgery and emergency cases. A long list of urgent cases re-

<sup>3</sup>Cordier, *op. cit.*, page 2.

quiring operation and hospitalization had been prepared before work on the hospital had even begun.

While this construction work was going on a small diagnostic laboratory was organized. One of the CPS men, an industrial chemist who had studied medical chemistry in an American university, set up the laboratory and has been doing the chemical work for the two doctors. In collaboration with the Insular Department of Health, we are now in a position to do diagnostic laboratory work for the other rural dispensaries . . . .

. . . we are reopening the local community center where we shall provide a program of community recreation . . . .

First aid classes have been organized . . . . Nurses' training classes are being conducted and local personnel is being trained as nurse aides to assist in the operation of the hospital.

With an ambulance sent from the United States we are providing ambulance service for the area and for the hospitals on the north and south coasts. This is a service which is very necessary because of the inadequate transportation facilities.<sup>4</sup>

By the end of the year the hospital was nearly completed. The doctors had performed meanwhile almost two hundred operations.<sup>5</sup> In addition a start had been made in the field of public health with eight hundred twenty-seven typhoid injections and two hundred twenty smallpox vaccinations.<sup>6</sup> On December 7 a recreation program of indoor and outdoor games was formally instituted at the community center.

#### FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS AT CASTANER

##### *The Hospital*

In the following months, the unit became more firmly established in its work, and at the same time began to

<sup>4</sup>Report of David Blickenstaff, director, page 1 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Report of the Castañer General Hospital for the five months ending December 31, 1942, page 4.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, page 3.

expand into new areas of service. The hospital was officially opened in February, with ceremonies attended by many civic leaders of the island. Governor R. G. Tugwell, the chief of the Insular Medical Services, and the commissioner of health were among the notables present. The aspirations of the men were well expressed by the latter when he said that he hoped the venture would demonstrate the practicality of such a plan and set a pattern adequate to meet the rural medical needs of the island.<sup>7</sup> The achievements of the hospital in the period following gave promise that this goal could be reached. Within a six-month period almost two thousand four hundred in-patient days were recorded.<sup>8</sup> Such a service becomes more meaningful when it is remembered that the patients treated would have had little or no opportunity for hospitalization elsewhere. The following statistics<sup>9</sup> give further insight into the service rendered.

**Table 13****Hospital Statistics, January—June 1943**

	<i>Jan.-Mar.</i>	<i>April-June</i>
Beds available .....	15-17	17
Average per cent of occupancy .....	72	84.9
Total patients admitted .....	159	185
Number of in-patient days .....	1,056	1,318
Average stay in hospital .....	6.4	7.1
Highest hospital census .....	19	24
Lowest hospital census .....	1	6
Average hospital census .....	11.8	14.4
Operations .....	140	168

<sup>7</sup>*Castañer Newsletter*, I, 14 (March 16, 1943), page 2.

<sup>8</sup>Quarterly reports of the M. G. Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit for the periods January-March, and April-June, 1943; page 2 of each report.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, pages 2 and 4 of each report.

The immunization work begun earlier as part of the health program was continued. In the first six months of 1943, smallpox vaccinations totaled six hundred thirty-five, typhoid injections two hundred five, and diphtheria vaccinations four hundred ninety-four.<sup>10</sup>

### *A Rural Clinic*

Service to the outlying areas was increased through the establishment in February of a medical dispensary at Rio Prieto, a small settlement several miles distant from Castañer. Each Saturday a group from the hospital, including one of the doctors, journeyed there in the unit ambulance. Medical examinations, prescriptions, dental extractions, ambulance service, provision for laboratory examinations, and hospitalization and surgery at Castañer—these were some of the tasks performed. A graphic account of the operation of this outlying clinic is found in the unit newsletter.

#### *Saturday Morning at the Rio Prieto Dispensary*

At seven-thirty every Saturday morning . . . the "carry-all ambulance" . . . is warmed . . . before it takes a load of unit members to a strenuous five hours' work at Rio Prieto.

Half way . . . the staff may be joined by Dr. Colom, local dentist . . . . At the Bartolo crossroads we are flagged down by . . . Mrs. Mendez who goes along to help eradicate hookworms . . . . A little farther . . . school marm Mrs. Marquez occupies her seat . . . , and Father and Mrs. Pagan . . . . Last stop is for Miss Colom, dispensary treasurer and record assistant.

The crowd is waiting for us—sometimes as many as a hundred. Don Pancho, owner and loaner of the little house in which the dispensary is held, is there to open the door for us. He is a big, paunchy Spaniard, one of the aristocratic gentlemen farmers of this region. He stands around fathering the whole outfit, telling stories for which

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, page 3 of each report.



he is famous and seeing that his friends get special and prompt attention.

First on the program is the handing out of consecutive numbers to return patients wanting to see the doctor for examination or prescription. While this is going on all the anemic and stomach-troubled little children that the doctor has told to come back for hookworm treatment are rounded up for a dose of oil of chenopodium and carbon tetrachloride. This is followed an hour later by a dose of castor oil or magnesium sulfate. Such a din of noise is seldom heard—fifteen kids yelling, sputtering and crying. They have learned already to bring their own oranges or lemons which help to destroy the foul taste.

A good morning's work consists of . . . [thirty] return patients and about the same number of new patients through the doctor's office, between twenty and thirty tooth extractions and about thirty miscellaneous cases.

There is a little globe bank on the register desk that collects from one to four dollars every Saturday morning. This plus the community contributions that were made to get the dispensary started, plus all the neighborly help we get, makes the Rio Prieto Dispensary a very interesting community project. But as soon as possible we are going to have to have two clinics a week instead of only one on Saturday. There is too much work to be done.<sup>11</sup>

### *The Community Center*

During this period the recreation program of the community center was firmly established. As in all activities, much preparatory work had to be done. Many hours were spent explaining and interpreting the program to the Puerto Rican community. In addition, physical facilities had to be provided. The unit laid out courts, repaired equipment, and had lights installed for night play. An old paint and carpenter shop was converted into a clubroom, and a storeroom was constructed. The

<sup>11</sup>*Castañer Newsletter*, I, 14 (March 16, 1943), page 3 ff.

major game activities included softball, volleyball, ping pong, badminton, and basketball. A further development that gave promise of contributing to the life of the community was the organization of a club for boys from twelve to sixteen years old. It was through this medium that the unit hoped to inculcate ideals into the community, "so that from the people themselves will come the leadership to solve some of the problems of Puerto Rico."<sup>12</sup>

Movies were a much-appreciated feature at the community center and were usually shown to capacity audiences. The following excerpt from a recreation report, though not descriptive of typical moviefare, indicates the enthusiasm with which the movies were received.

The first evening of movies the hall was literally packed, with about 250 persons present. Since that time the crowd has gradually increased, until the rafters offer the only unoccupied space in the building. Several peer in the many windows on both sides of the room.

Titles of the films vary from "Saving Savages in the South Seas," a missionary film, and "The Life Cycle of the Yellow Fever Mosquito," to "Construction of a Dirigible." In spite of a few seemingly uninteresting subjects, the people appreciate them immensely and constantly harry the recreational director with "*Hay películas por la noche?*" (Is there a movie tonight?). Through the suggestion of some of the people, a collection is taken each night . . . . Everyone seems to have at least a penny to contribute. . . . we feel that perhaps the people will have a little more appreciation . . . if they can share at least a token burden of the expense.<sup>13</sup>

The community center also included a small public library of literature in Spanish, built around a loan of books from the Carnegie library in San Juan. This, too,

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 15 (April 6, 1943), page 1.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, page 1.

was much appreciated by the residents of the area. Other noteworthy services included the use of the center for local community meetings, and the beginning made toward the development of a more formal education program with a class in first aid.

### EXPANSION

#### *New Projects*

By summer, 1943, the work at Castañer was well established and the first steps were taken toward expansion. The Brethren previously had invited the Mennonites and the Friends to join them in the Puerto Rico venture by assuming responsibility for similar PRRA projects in other areas of the island. Both Mennonites and Friends had accepted and were assigned to La Plata and Zaldondo respectively. Later the Friends also undertook work at St. Just.

Expansion in another direction came with the assignment of men to work in the Virgin Islands, the Brethren to St. Thomas and the Friends to St. Croix. These units were organized differently from the Castañer project, however. Here the workers became regular staff members of the municipal government under the supervision of the heads of the various departments to which they were detailed. At one time the St. Thomas unit included a recreation worker in the Division of Public Playgrounds, a male nurse for psychiatric patients in the Department of Health, an instructor of vocational training and manual arts in the Department of Education, a social worker (non-CPS) and a cook-housekeeper for the unit. St. Thomas opened in January of 1944 with the arrival of Howard Gustafson, the assignee director. By

April of 1946 the unit had been reduced to one man by reason of demobilization.

Yet another phase of the Brumbaugh unit work concerned the assignment of men to various branches of the Insular and Federal government in Puerto Rico. Such men were specialists in their fields and included an epidemiologist, a tax expert, a city planner, three architects, and a craftsman of artificial limbs. As in the Virgin Islands, the men worked directly under the supervision of the heads of the departments to which they were assigned. All were located in the San Juan area.

### *The Total Brumbaugh Unit*

With these new units in operation the Martin G. Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit comprised several projects—Castañer, La Plata, Zaldondo, and St. Just; St. Thomas and St. Croix; and the special assignments to San Juan—all united under a central administration, yet each retaining a large degree of local autonomy. The undertaking originally centered at Castañer thus became a co-operative enterprise of the historic peace churches under the general administration of the Brethren Service Committee.<sup>14</sup>

### *Central Administration*

Over-all co-ordination of the program came from two sources. In the United States, the Brethren Service Com-

<sup>14</sup>The history of the projects of the Friends and the Mennonites is beyond the scope of this study. Thus, though very important in themselves, these projects are mentioned only as they touch upon the history of the Brethren projects. Suffice it to say that all the units presented points of likeness and points of difference. Each group dealt with the same agencies, met many of the same problems, and fashioned its program after the common ideal of medical and social service. At the same time, however, each group developed the work within the lines of its own peculiar genius.

mittee was responsible for general supervision. This involved matters of relationship to the National Service Board, Selective Service and other government agencies, and problems of shipping and transportation. They were assisted by an advisory committee, composed of a Brethren, a Friend, and a Mennonite, that met to determine broad general policy and to give counsel and advice. The advisory committee also confirmed the appointment of a general director by the Brethren Service Committee. Brethren who supervised the administration of the program from the Elgin office were L. S. Brubaker, M. R. Zigler, and W. Harold Row.

In Puerto Rico the administration of the total program was the responsibility of the general director, Rufus B. King. Such functions as the relations of the Brumbaugh unit with PRRA and other agencies on the island, the co-ordination of the work of the local projects to the general aims, and the filing of reports were administered through his office in the San Juan area. He was assisted by an administrative council composed of the local directors and himself. This council also provided for a united program of publicity. King began his work as general director in the summer of 1943.

### *Local Administration*

The development of each project within this over-all plan was directed largely by its own staff. Local authorities were dealt with by the separate groups as was necessary unless the matter involved affected the total Brumbaugh unit. In affairs of finance the Brethren were responsible for Castañer, the Friends for Zalduondo and St. Just, and the Mennonites for La Plata. Each group

selected its own personnel and assigned them to their tasks. For other matters of local import, there was no reference to the central administration. Each local project also had a director of its own. At Castañer the men holding this position during the period when the unit was primarily a CPS project were David Blickenstaff, Dr. Daryl M. Parker, Rufus B. King, and Herman Will, Jr.

#### CONTINUED GROWTH OF CASTANER

Before the spring and summer of 1943 additional CPS men arrived at Castañer. The original group had numbered eleven. By April this was increased to fourteen, and by August to eighteen. In July of 1944 the group numbered twenty-five. From that time on the total hovered around this figure until, in the winter of 1945-46, it was much reduced by reason of demobilization.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the CPS men, several other continentals served in the program, including the medical doctors, the nurses, and others with professional training. Many of the women who assisted were the wives of unit members. Native Puerto Ricans were employed also to help with the work. Thus the total personnel at the Castañer project numbered around sixty.

Additional workers meant that the program could be expanded. Coupled with this increase was the fact that much of the preparatory work had been completed in many areas of need. Now that the hospital had been built, and many of the other structures and facilities of the community center renovated, the personnel were free

<sup>15</sup>It is interesting to note that several assignees remained in Puerto Rico after being discharged from CPS. At least seven men continued to live and work on the island, or returned later, for an appreciable length of time.

to devote more of their time to the work at hand. From the summer of 1943 the activities of the unit gradually increased in scope and intensity. The newer emphases were especially applied in the fields of public health and community services, although the development of the hospital and medical dispensaries was in no way diminished.

### *The Hospital*

From the summer of 1943 until the close of the program as a CPS venture<sup>16</sup> (and even to the present) the work of the hospital continued on in much the same manner as before. The doctors and the nurses in charge were trained and skilled personnel and maintained high standards of practice in their work. Except that there were diseases and problems peculiar to the Castañer locale, much the same round of events took place as in other small hospitals. There children were born, operations performed, and death encountered. There many of the common diseases were treated and fractured bones were mended. The service rendered became so vital and outstanding that the Insular Legislature, in the 1945 session, approved a Health Department budget item calling for approximately twenty thousand dollars to be used toward the expenses of operation.<sup>17</sup> As an experiment in rural medical care, the hospital was a decided success.

<sup>16</sup>The winter of 1945-46 may be taken as the period during which the unit ceased to be primarily a CPS project, and shifted to its present basis. Prior to that time the continental personnel were almost wholly CPS men, the exceptions being mainly the doctors and the women nurses. Thus, in October of 1945, of approximately thirty continentals at Castañer, twenty-four were assignees. By January of 1946, however, half this group had been discharged. In the months following, CPS men were a numerical minority. The last assignee was discharged March 29, 1947.

<sup>17</sup>The same was voted for the La Plata Hospital. There was no hospital at Zalduondo or St. Just.



Table 14

**Castañer Hospital Statistics<sup>18</sup>**

	1943		1944		1945
	July-Sept.	Oct.-Dec.	Jan.-June	July-Dec.	
Beds available for use ....	25	*25	*25	*25	*26
Per cent of occupancy ....	73	58	60.5	66	63.5
Total patients admitted ..	251	290	593	654	1,138
In-patient days .....	1,717	1,758	3,634	4,022	7,666
Average stay in hospital ..	6.8	6.1	6.1	6.2	6.8
Highest hospital census ..	25	31	32		
Lowest hospital census ....	8	7	9		
Average hospital census ..	18.5	19.2	20	21.7	21
Operations .....	306	309	683	769	646

\* Plus eight nursery

*Rural Clinics*

It has been noted that in February of 1943 a medical dispensary was initiated at Rio Prieto. In 1944 two additional dispensaries were established along a similar pattern in other outlying rural areas. The first opened at Yahuecas in the forepart of the year, and served until July of 1945. There the chief emphasis was upon maternal and infant hygiene. The second opened at Mirasol in December, and provided general medical care to the people of that area. At Castañer, also, there was a dispensary, used to supplement the work of the hospital.<sup>19</sup> In addition to general medical service, the Castañer dis-

<sup>18</sup>These statistics are taken from: the quarterly reports of Castañer for July–September, and October–December, 1943, page 2 in each report; the first semi-annual report of Castañer, January–June, 1944, page 3; the second semiannual report of Castañer, July–December, 1944, page 3; and the annual report of Castañer for 1945, page 3. The figure indicating the number of “operations” for the year 1945 was compiled on a different basis than in the preceding years.

<sup>19</sup>A technical distinction among the several dispensaries should be noted. Those of Yahuecas and Castañer were regularly established clinics of the Insular Department of Health, in which the unit co-operated by furnishing personnel. Those of Rio Prieto and Mirasol were established by the unit and the local residents apart from the Department of Health.



pensary conducted special clinics in maternal and infant hygiene and control of venereal disease.

### *Public Health*

In 1944 additional personnel made it possible to enlarge the public health program. The work was expanded gradually to include public school visitations, home visitations, health education, milk stations for children, further immunizations against common diseases, hookworm control, and a tuberculosis survey.<sup>20</sup>

At the public schools several health measures were initiated. Included were general physical examinations for the children, hearing and vision tests, a test for diphtheria, and a test for tuberculosis. The unit members also inoculated the children against smallpox, diphtheria and typhoid and treated them for hookworm.

Home visitations were made as a follow-up from clinic and hospital experiences, and from the registrations at the infant milk feeding station. A census of the area, taken by unit members, further assisted in this work. Since so many of the health problems of the people could be traced directly to poor health practices in the home, this work was quite valuable.

To aid in the problem of nutrition the unit assisted in the establishment of two milk stations, one at Castañer, and one at Rio Prieto. These were operated in conjunction with the milk station committee of the Office of Civilian Defense. Here children from three to seventeen years

<sup>20</sup>An additional emergency service was rendered by the Brumbaugh unit to victims of a disastrous fire in the town of Lares. Three assignees, one of whom (Stanley Harbison) was from the Castañer project, assisted in directing the operation of a tent camp for approximately four hundred people. They helped to raise health standards and sanitary practices, and to initiate precautions against epidemics. Their services were greatly needed and were much appreciated.

of age were free to come for milk and other supplemental foods. Average daily attendance for the two reached one hundred forty during the second half of 1944.<sup>21</sup>

The public health program was further developed through a program of education. For the community, talks on various common problems of health were given and literature was distributed. Movies and films supplemented this work. For the unit members, a training program was inaugurated consisting of individual study and a series of lectures by United States Public Health Service officials and the unit doctors on phases of public health practice. Three members of the unit were able to spend short periods at the School of Tropical Medicine, at San Juan.

Since there was a large amount of hookworm in the area, the unit undertook a series of measures to control the disease.<sup>22</sup> Among them was a program aimed at providing sanitary latrines for the homes. The men reconstructed or improved many that constituted health hazards. Supplementing this work was a program of education showing the causes of the disease and the precautions necessary to control it. Finally, the medical dispensaries provided treatment for those infected with the disease.

A tuberculosis survey of the residents of the immediate area was completed in 1945. This involved the Vollmer patch testing of almost two thousand persons, and a follow up by X ray in suspected cases. The testing was accompanied by a community-wide educational program.

Through the dispensaries many inoculations for common diseases were provided.

<sup>21</sup>Second semiannual report of Castañer, July–December, 1944, page 4.

<sup>22</sup>See page 274 for additional information about hookworm.

*The Community Center*

Some indication has been given already of the activities of the community center, especially as they developed during the early months of the program. The work in the period following the expansion of the unit grew upon these first foundations and included recreational activities in the form of athletics, games, clubs, dramatics, crafts, movies, and social events; classes open to the community; a women's embroidery industry; a public library; provision for community meetings; and other such enterprises. The facilities to carry out this program included:

. . . a meeting and game room capable of handling 300 persons; a library; girls' sewing and club room; boys' club room; craft shop; softball field; a lighted concrete court containing basketball, volleyball, badminton, tennis, and shuffleboard lay-outs; a small grass field containing swings, teeter-totters, training bars, and an overhead ladder . . . . Sanitary facilities include modern inside toilets and a shower room for community use.<sup>23</sup>

The facilities mentioned indicate the types of games played at the center. For those who desired a formal program, regular volleyball and softball teams were organized and leagues set up. For others, participation was more informal and unscheduled. Several field days were held, to which neighboring communities were invited. These included a whole round of games with the visitors as well as informal friendly fellowship. The larger aims of the athletic program were to develop: "(1) a spirit of sportsmanship and team play; (2) physical growth and muscular skills; (3) a creative leisure time activity for the young people of the community."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Annual report of Castañer for 1945, page 4.

<sup>24</sup>Quarterly report of Castañer, April-June, 1944, page 8.

Several clubs were organized at the center, for both girls and boys. These provided wholesome group associations and opportunity to teach the "foundations of democratic living." In the older girls' clubs the activities included: "sewing, embroidering, crocheting, native handcraft, English and classes on child care."<sup>25</sup> In the younger girls' groups, "handwork such as drawing, coloring, cutting, glueing, making of puppets, singing, low organization games, stories, native handcraft and music appreciation"<sup>26</sup> were the main interests. The boys played softball and other group games, learned carpentry and handcrafts, and enjoyed hikes together. The club program was a very important part of the larger program of the community center.

Among the newer activities was the organization of a boys' summer camp in co-operation with the La Plata and Zalduondo units. The support for this project came from three sources: from the boys themselves; from donations by groups and individuals in the States; and from a fund raised by the community. The "purpose of the camp was to give the boys of rural Puerto Rico a chance to experience a week of intensified training in group living, and to instill in them some ideas of purposeful living."<sup>27</sup> The youths chosen for the training were from those who participated in the community center activities. The Y.M.C.A. of Puerto Rico loaned their camp site to the Brumbaugh unit for the occasion.

The movies, the public library, and the use of the center for social and business meetings have been mentioned

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, page 10.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>*Castañer Newsletter*, III, 11 (August 1, 1945), page 3. The first camp was held in 1944. Each year since, a similar camp has been held.

in previous pages. Two of the social events developed were particularly outstanding. One of these was the annual Christmas party sponsored by the unit for the children of the area. Gifts, most of which were made possible by friends in the United States, were distributed to the three hundred to five hundred children attending. A program of games and entertainment was featured also.

A second annual event was a carnival held in the spring to raise money for the club work and for the boys' camp. This was a popular undertaking, and was supported with enthusiasm by the whole community. Among the various attractions of the day were a queen contest, a *velada* or program of entertainment featuring the crowning of the queen, and a variety of booths. The entertainment was provided largely through the efforts of the club groups.

Education for the Puerto Rican community was another important phase of the extensive work undertaken by those assisting in the center. Instruction was offered in several subjects. First aid, English, music, woodshop, home nursing, junior home nursing, and sewing were some of the interests developed. An extension of educational services was inaugurated by a group within the unit which undertook to provide means for Puerto Rican young people to come to the United States for study. At least six students were brought to the mainland as a result of such efforts.

The unit hoped through the many activities of the center to develop local leadership and to create a feeling of community among the inhabitants so that they might come to take the initiative in solving their problems.

*Maintenance and Construction*

A consideration of the program at Castañer would not be complete without special mention of the great amount of maintenance and construction work performed by the unit. Perhaps the largest single achievement in this field was the building of the hospital. Yet this was but one operation of many. In almost every undertaking the first step was the repair and renovation of equipment and quarters. The assignees were particularly ingenious in remodeling and repairing old equipment and in devising needed apparatus from such materials as were at hand. It should be noted also that the preparation of meals and the operation of the laundry for the hospital and unit were in themselves large tasks. For example, during 1944, the kitchen served over sixty-two thousand meals,<sup>28</sup> and in 1945 the laundry washed over seventy-nine thousand pounds of linen and clothing.<sup>29</sup>

*Technical Agencies*

Although the bulk of the program at Castañer was carried on in conjunction with the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, official relations were established by the unit with several other agencies. Chief among these was the Insular Department of Health. This department supplemented the services of the doctors and other unit personnel in the hospital and medical dispensaries by contributing the use of an ambulance, some medicines and supplies, and pay for certain types of cases and services. Their greatest contribution was the above-mentioned allotment of twenty thousand dollars

<sup>28</sup>First and second semiannual reports of Castañer, January-June and July-December of 1944, page 5 of each report.

<sup>29</sup>Annual report of Castañer for 1945, page 6.

per year.<sup>30</sup> This subsidy was begun in 1945 and is still operative.

Other groups with whom the unit worked included: the United States Public Health Service, the Farm Security Administration, the Insular Department of Education, the Insular Sports Commission, the Insular Child Feeding Program, the Insular Agriculture Extension Service, the School of Tropical Medicine of San Juan, the Y.M.C.A. and the Red Cross. The Farm Security Administration was the agency through which the Brethren distributed their first shipment of "heifers for relief." In Puerto Rico, General Director King planned the necessary arrangements with this government office; and as a result, approximately fifty dairy heifers were apportioned to low-income farmers. A second shipment of twenty-five animals was distributed through the PRRA.

### *Support of Castañer*

The financial support of Castañer has been the responsibility of the Brethren Service Committee. Although their obligations have been met chiefly from their own funds, substantial assistance has been rendered by island groups and individuals. The contributions of the Insular Department of Health have been noted previously. From the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Agency came the use of buildings, materials for their renovation and maintenance, some equipment and supplies, water, and, for a limited time, electricity. Other agencies assisted also, mainly with supplies and equipment. To a limited extent, local municipalities paid cash sums in appreciation of the services. And finally, many persons of the area helped as

<sup>30</sup>Page 346 above.



they could, through small donations in cash or kind. At the same time, friends of unit members sent gifts to the project from the United States.

### *Recognition of the Unit Work*

The reception of the unit by the islanders was cordial and friendly, and little marred by the fact that the majority of the personnel were conscientious objectors to war. Through hard work and high professional achievement, the workers won the respect of those with whom they came in contact—government officials and civic leaders of the island, as well as the local Puerto Ricans whom they were serving. Evidence of appreciation came in many ways—often in the form of gifts. These ranged from small sums to a fifty-bed Red Cross field unit, valued at several thousand dollars. The response of the islanders to the unit work was well described in the Castañer newsletter:

We came to Puerto Rico half expecting a cold, hostile attitude toward us because of our position as C.O.'s. And from a people eking out a bare existence we anticipated little more than appeals for help, medical or otherwise.

To our surprise things have turned out just the reverse. Frequently appreciative neighbors or hospital patients make us presents of one sort or another. Many times after toiling long hours on some phase of hospital work, we hear a knock at the door, and a timid hand offers a bag of oranges or a dozen eggs, and then we know our work has been truly appreciated . . . .<sup>31</sup>

Recognition of the contribution of the Brumbaugh unit was made by Oswald Garrison Villard, following his visit to Puerto Rico in March 1944. At that time the nationally known journalist and for many years publisher

<sup>31</sup>*Castañer Newsletter*, I, 17 (May 18, 1943), page 3.



and editor of *The Nation* and *The New York Evening Post*, spent several weeks making a study of the current state of Puerto Rico's problems. Writing in *The Christian Century*, he discussed efforts being made to improve island conditions. Of the Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit, he said:

Of all these enterprises the Castañer project . . . is perhaps the most interesting because of the very fine work being done there by the Martin G. Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit and the Reconstruction Administration with the cooperation of the national Selective Service and the insular health department.

It was my privilege to spend a day with this American reconstruction group at Castañer, and I can hardly exaggerate the impression . . . upon me as I saw this splendid group . . . at work in this uplifting labor, this constructive adventure in human relations, when nearly all . . . the world is devoting itself to destruction and mass murder. . . . If this does not become the ideal reconstruction undertaking in all Puerto Rico I shall be surprised—indeed I think it is that now. It is Christian fellowship at its best.<sup>32</sup>

### *Unit Life*

At Castañer there was not a sharp division between the work project and other aspects of unit life. The energies and interests of the men were almost wholly absorbed by the program and became integrated around this center. More than in most CPS units there was built up a community of interests that found expression in the service rendered. The history of the educational endeavors of the men reflect this spirit. Almost all their study was directly related to the problems they were facing by reason of their being at Castañer, and included such subjects as first aid, history and social problems of Puerto

<sup>32</sup>Oswald Garrison Villard, "What Hope in Puerto Rico?" *Christian Century*, May 10, 1944, page 591 ff.

Rico, public health, hospital procedures, and Spanish.<sup>33</sup>

In the early months of unit life, the group worshiped together in Sunday evening meetings. Daily devotions were on a personal basis. Beginning in the spring of 1943, however, particular emphasis was given to a daily period of group worship in the early morning. Each week a different leader was in charge of the morning devotions. Other services which were held regularly were Sunday school and Sunday evening vespers. Some unit members took an interest in the local Puerto Rican services in Spanish which were held weekly in the chapel of the Castañer project. In addition to these specific aspects of the unit religious life, the entire service of the men in the project might be viewed as religious in nature, for the motivation behind their work was primarily a spiritual concern for the underprivileged.

In a number of ways the Castañer unit experienced the trials common to most group endeavors. For them there were periods of discouragement when the progress of the work seemed barely perceptible and the tasks almost insurmountable. Difficulties of wartime transportation and communication, and shortages of needed supplies had to be overcome. There was a general lack of sufficient personnel to meet all the great needs of the area. Further, there were differences in personal views that had to be adjusted to the larger aims of the group. Yet through all such periods of stress there was a group loyalty and devotion to the service under way that provided in a great measure for the overcoming of these obstacles.

<sup>33</sup>Though individual study in Spanish was practically always in progress, a large proportion of unit members participated in a concentrated group program for several months in 1944. The classes, which were held five hours weekly, were under the direction of Margarita Will, assisted by assignees, Fred Kidder and George Furse.

Personal sorrow came to the unit through the deaths of three assignees: Elmer Hartzler, Elzie Ray Holderreed, and I. Harvey Horner. The first two died during their service on the island, and the latter very soon after his return to the mainland. The graves of Hartzler and Holderreed are in the Adjuntas municipal cemetery in the territory in which they lived and worked.

While there was sorrow and stress for the group, there was also joy and a sense of achievement. The reception of the work by the islanders and the visible improvement of the lot of the inhabitants were a source of deep content. The fellowship provided by the group associations and the nature of the project brought to old concepts newer meanings of human relations and service. The spirit of Castañer was well caught by a writer in the newsletter.

Castañer holds you in a curious sort of fascination. . . . [To know Castañer] you need to rise in the early morning and lift your eyes to the rose crowned mountain crests that seal you in this valley—and know that there is no road back from the purpose that brought you here. You need to watch the children, shabby and bare-foot but proud and happy, chattering their way along the road. You need to stop and wonder at the great loads piled on their heads. You need to scan the jagged boundary of the horizon black against a waning sunset and love the beauty of the tiny box-like houses and the royal palms silhouetted against the flaming clouds. You need to sense the warmth of the earth and find human life about you, knowing that in both are contained those seeds that can bear fruit for the world's needs. You need to find the thrill of believing in people because they are people and understand that your faith is not predicated upon your knowledge of them, but upon the same divinity in their lives which fills yours and makes you a part of them. You need to see the eyes of the people staring questioningly at you as they confront you with disease-infected, mal-nourished, worn-out bodies.

You need to see the net hammock stretched from a long bamboo pole, swinging from the shoulders of two men who bring a relative or friend for treatment. You need to feel the aching in your heart and wonder at the futility of what you do; when you send a freshly-nourished child back to no milk and inadequate diet that will return him to your care again; or to bid a boy or girl good-bye, finally free from infection, knowing that he will return to a home environment of poverty and disease; or to hand out hookworm medicine to children already on their third and fourth treatment and send them away their feet yet bare and exposed to the parasites you have eliminated from their stomachs. You need to see a tenth or fifteenth child born into a family, too poor after the first to support another, and helplessly watch the waning capacity of the worn-out mother to bring them up healthful and adequate for life.

And finally your head will buzz—your mind will wonder frantically, “What can be done, what can be done, why am I here?” And some evening you will bow your head with the setting sun, thankful in the knowledge that in the midst of ignorance you have learned much; in the midst of suffering you have found great joy; and from out of poverty you have been abundantly filled. Then the mystery of Castañer will break over you and fill you with strange humility and you will seek new courage for the opportunity of meeting tomorrow’s dawn.<sup>34</sup>

The work originally begun at Castañer as a CPS project has been carried on in post-CPS days. There the Brethren Service Committee<sup>35</sup> is still sponsoring the program of medical and social service along the same basic lines established in the first year of the venture. At the same time, an increased emphasis is being placed upon a religious ministry.

<sup>34</sup>Jean Harbison, “Observation,” *Castañer Newsletter*, I, 22 (September 1, 1943), page 3.

<sup>35</sup>Now the Brethren Service Commission.



## Part III

### *THE ADMINISTRATION OF BRETHREN CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE*

*The administrative responsibilities of the Brethren CPS program were divided between several different groups and agencies. Among these were the various offices and boards of the Selective Service System; the various peace-group participants, including the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, the Brethren Service Committee, and the IV-E assignees; and the several technical or using agencies. In the foregoing pages some indication has been given of the interrelationships of these groups and their respective areas of responsibility. This is especially true of the functioning of the peace groups and of the technical agencies in the local work units. The chapters following are especially concerned with the administrative procedures and relationships developed between Selective Service and the peace groups, and with the manner in which the national CPS office of the Brethren Service Committee functioned.*



## CHAPTER 12

### The Church Agencies and Selective Service

Broadly viewed, the Civilian Public Service program represented an effort of church and state agencies to work together in meeting a situation involving fundamental interests of both groups. By legal enactment, the final authority for the establishment and administration of the program had been vested in the president of the United States, who, in turn, had delegated his authority to the director of Selective Service. The director, in turn, while retaining authority for over-all supervision, had delegated responsibilities for the administration of certain phases of the program to other governmental agencies, and to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, an agency created by religious groups concerned with the problem of conscientious objection to war. While in some areas of activity the working agreement established provided for a division of responsibilities that seemed quite clear, in others the line of demarcation was not so apparent. In the material following, an account is given of the origin and nature of the working agreement and the respective functions and duties assumed by the church and state groups.

#### ORIGINS OF THE CHURCH-STATE AGREEMENT

The relationships developed between Selective Service



and the peace-group sponsors of CPS may be traced to the activities of the latter groups in Washington, D. C., in the summer and fall of 1940. At that time a national draft law was being considered by Congress, and, as previously indicated,<sup>1</sup> the historic peace churches and others were actively engaged in securing Congressional recognition of conscientious objection to war. The original draft of the bill before Congress had provided for conscientious objection to military service in the following manner:

Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to require or compel any person to be subject to training or service in a combatant capacity in the land and naval forces of the United States who is found to be a member of any well recognized religious sect whose creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form . . . but no such person shall be relieved from training or service in such capacity as the President may declare to be non-combatant.<sup>2</sup>

In Washington, as the draft act was being deliberated, the concerned peace groups were seeking to extend this limited recognition of conscience to include more liberal provisions. Specifically, they urged: (a) the exemption of conscientious objectors from noncombatant service as well as from combatant service, (b) consideration of the individual conscience without reference to church membership or affiliation, (c) recognition of conscience on the grounds of belief alone as well as on the grounds of "religious training and belief," (d) supervision of conscientious objectors by civilian rather than military personnel, and (e) complete exemption for the "absolut-

<sup>1</sup>Page 41 above.

<sup>2</sup>Section 7(d) of the original Burke-Wadsworth bill, S.4164, introduced in the Senate on June 20, 1940.

ists.”<sup>3</sup> The bill finally approved by Congress included some of these features. As adopted in September, the law provided:

Nothing contained in this act shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Any such person claiming such exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections whose claim is sustained by the local [draft] board shall . . . be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or shall, if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, in lieu of such induction, be assigned to work of national importance under civilian direction.<sup>4</sup>

This same law authorized the president to “prescribe the necessary rules and regulations to carry out the provisions”<sup>5</sup> of the act, and to “create and establish a Selective Service System.”<sup>6</sup> The president was further authorized to “delegate . . . authority vested in him under this Act, to such officers, agents, or persons as he may designate.”<sup>7</sup>

Following the passage of the law in September, the peace groups concerned themselves with the procedures by which the terms of the act were to be put into effect. Their concern arose both from a general feeling on the matter as an issue of religious significance, involving the relation of the church to the state, and from the fact that

<sup>3</sup>For more detailed accounts see: E. Raymond Wilson, *Some Notes on the Evolution of the Provisions for Conscientious Objectors in the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940*, January 27, 1943 (a mimeographed bulletin, 11 pages); and, *Congress Looks at the Conscientious Objector* (Washington: NSBRO, 1943), pages 4-31.

<sup>4</sup>Section 5(g) of the *Selective Training and Service Act of 1940*.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, section 10(a) (1).

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, section 10(a) (2).

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, section 10(b).

on the basis of experience in the First World War, they expected many of their members of draft status to be affected by the provision for conscientious objection. The thought of the Brethren at this time was recounted by M. R. Zigler, a Brethren leader active in the negotiations.

When the Selective Training and Service Act was enacted in 1940, the Church of the Brethren had to face again the problem of relationship of church and state, as did the early founders of the church in 1708. It was clear that the majority of the citizens of our American commonwealth desired to enter the world conflict by military methods. It was clearly the belief of the Brethren that the energy of love had not been utilized in trying to settle the relationship between the United States and the other nations of the earth. While war had not yet been declared, the whole atmosphere of the time made war seem imminent.

Civilian Public Service was chosen as a method of separation of church and state. It was said that if the church and state should be separated, while the state went on the errand of war, there ought to be a service of citizenship creative in nature—a sample of what the whole world ought to do—in order to have the good life established. It was felt that the world needed reforestation and soil conservation, and there ought to be also redemptive projects such as working in hospitals and doing relief work.

The design was to portray a new way of citizenship. Brethren hoped to exemplify a constructive way of peace, in contrast to the way of war endorsed by the government. It was also thought that in order to separate the church from the state as clearly as possible, the church, because it promoted this idea of living, should pay for the program as a contribution and a testimony in which both the men who chose Civilian Public Service and the constituency of the church would participate and thus relieve the state as much as possible of the financial obligation. The idea here was that it was an example of not taxing the people for conscientious objectors which in turn should be applied when the taxation for military purposes is levied against those who sincerely feel that war is the wrong method of settling disputes between individuals and nations. The whole proj-

ect was born, as far as Brethren are concerned, in the idea of creative citizenship.

It was very clear that the majority of the people in the United States wanted to draft every young man for service. Civilian Public Service was considered as a choice after registration. It was hoped that the program of doing good in the time of war might gradually, over a long period of time, become a recognized way of nations to win the peace and to keep it.<sup>8</sup>

To co-ordinate and facilitate their approach to government officials and the conscientious objector problem, the Brethren, with the Friends and the Mennonites, formed in October 1940 a National Council for Religious Conscientious Objectors. By November the Fellowship of Reconciliation had joined the council as a member of the board of directors, and the Methodists, the Disciples of Christ, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America were co-operating in a consultative capacity. In the same month the name of the organization was changed to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. Meanwhile, members of this group had been meeting with government officials to discuss the manner in which a program of work of national importance might be administered.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the government offered to delegate a share of the administration of the emerging program to the National Service Board, on the condition that the board would undertake to finance and administer certain phases of the program for all conscientious objectors. On December 12 the National Service Board, then composed of representatives of the Brethren, the Friends, the Mennonites, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, agreed to this proposal. The

<sup>8</sup>From a statement furnished the author by M. R. Zigler, March 22, 1948.

<sup>9</sup>Page 42 above.

director of Selective Service, Clarence A. Dykstra, submitted a memorandum of the agreement to President Roosevelt, who approved it on December 19. Basically, this agreement provided for the three-way division of responsibilities between Selective Service, the technical agency, and the National Service Board, that characterized the CPS program throughout the period of operation.

In February 1941 an executive order of the president officially authorized the director of Selective Service to "establish, designate, or determine work of national importance under civilian direction"<sup>10</sup> to which conscientious objectors might be assigned. The director was also authorized to determine the agencies in co-operation with whom the program might be developed, and to prescribe such rules and regulations as might be necessary to carry out the program.

Thus, by the spring of 1941 the main outlines of an alternative service program were established. The basic legal authority for the plan lay in the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. By executive order the president had delegated the powers and responsibilities granted him by that act to the director of Selective Service. The director, in turn, had delegated certain responsibilities to the National Service Board and to the co-operating technical agencies.

#### THE WORKING AGREEMENT

Under the agreement established between Selective Service and the participating groups in 1941, the most clear-cut delegation of responsibility was to the technical agencies. To them was given the supervision of the work

<sup>10</sup>The text of this order may be found in the Appendix.

projects to which the conscientious objectors were assigned. At that time the co-operating technical groups were the Forest Service, the Soil Conservation Service, and the National Park Service, of the Federal government. These agencies had work projects requiring large numbers of men, many of them unfinished programs first begun by the Civilian Conservation Corps. These groups also had supervisory personnel trained in the line of work under consideration, as well as tools and other necessary equipment for the job. At the same time the abandoned CCC camp buildings located at the site of the work provided convenient living quarters for the assignees.

In the camp routine the technical agency was responsible for planning and supervising the total work program. Specifically, it was responsible for determining what tasks were to be done, how they were to be done, and the number of men to be assigned to each task from the quota available in the camp.

The delegated responsibilities of the National Service Board included several areas of function, some of which were quite definite in boundary, and some of which were not. The memorandum of understanding of December 19 had defined the areas only very briefly.

[The National Service Board for Religious Objectors] has agreed for a temporary period to undertake the task of financing and furnishing all other [beyond the work project] necessary parts of the program, including actual day-to-day supervision and control of the camps (under such rules and regulations and administrative supervision as is laid down by Selective Service), to supply subsistence, necessary buildings, hospital care, and generally all things necessary for the care and maintenance of the men. Admittance to these camps will not be dependent on membership in the particular church groups undertaking this work.

Should it develop that the church groups cannot permanently meet the considerable financial outlay, or that difficulties develop in the program here outlined, the Government could at any time modify the program or take it over in its entirety.<sup>11</sup>

In April 1941 the responsibilities of the National Service Board were defined in a manual issued by Selective Service as including the following functions:

The National Service Board for Religious Objectors, through its camp director, is responsible for the maintenance of the camp and its environs in accordance with standards acceptable to the governmental agency involved; maintenance of discipline; recreation, education, health and camp life of the assignee . . . .<sup>12</sup>

Several points may be noted in these statements. In the first place, the religious groups, through the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, were thus bound to pay most of the major costs of operating the camps. They assumed responsibility for furnishing the necessary food, clothing, and medical care for the assignees. The costs of fuel and utilities, of certain aspects of the repair and maintenance of the buildings, and the securance of such equipment as could not be borrowed from the government, were also their responsibility. They likewise bore the administrative costs of the program, including office expenses and salaries for such personnel as were paid (except technical agency personnel), and the expenses of the religious, educational, and recreational activities sponsored in the units.

Taken together, these costs involved an outlay of many thousands of dollars<sup>13</sup> and represented a large expense

<sup>11</sup>Memorandum of Clarence A. Dykstra to the president. See the Appendix for the full text.

<sup>12</sup>*Camp Regulations* (Washington: Selective Service System, April 11, 1941), page 4.

<sup>13</sup>Chapter 14 deals with the financial aspects of the program in some detail.



to the small denominations underwriting the program. In the final analysis, the historic peace churches and the other groups co-operating were willing to assume these financial responsibilities because they felt the goals they were seeking could be best achieved by their sharing in the direct management of the program; and in their negotiations with the government it seemed that such a share could be obtained only through the assumption of such liabilities.<sup>14</sup> At the same time the church groups were eager to provide a witness against war and they felt that their payment for the program would contribute materially to such a witness. Paul Comly French, the executive secretary of the National Service Board and one of the central figures in the negotiations with the government, spoke of the decision to assume financial support in this manner:

Many times during the past two years I have heard the question raised as to why religious pacifists assumed such a responsibility in agreeing to finance . . . Civilian Public Service . . . . Some who have felt deeply about the problem have been motivated by a desire to see the Government assume the responsibility from a political point of view because they believe that a democratic government should participate in an increasingly larger field of citizen relationship; others, however, have questioned the wisdom of the present program on the grounds that money is being used which might be better expended on pacifist action and educational programs.

I think that there can be little disagreement with anyone who feels that the logic of the situation places a responsibility on the Government to support conscientious objectors after having drafted them for service.

That approach, it seems to me, is purely political and legalistic . . . . I do not believe that any sizable number of persons would ever come to understand our religious conviction that war is

<sup>14</sup>Page 43 above.



wrong . . . merely because the Government financed a program for conscientious objectors.

. . . when we decided . . . [to finance CPS] we were not thinking in terms of legalisms, but rather of fundamental Christian ethics. It was based on the belief that if a man asked you to walk a mile with him, you would willingly agree to walk the second mile.

Civilian Public Service was conceived as a way of giving the state-community the service which it asked . . . and then going beyond that and paying for the privilege of serving. I think that most of the people who participated in the decision to accept the responsibility felt that it would give them an opportunity to prepare men for the tasks that would come with the ending of the war and the reconstruction period that would face us at home and abroad. . . . What I have said may be an over-simplification, yet I am satisfied that the fact that people believe in a thing sufficiently to pay for it has worth in making our testimony clear in a society in which material things are predominant and the basis on which values are judged.<sup>15</sup>

A second point to be noted regarding the agreement between the National Service Board and Selective Service was the recognition that the program proposed was tentative in nature and subject to future modification. Either or both parties might request changes in the basic relationship. The agreement also provided for a first trial period of operations, after which both might consider whether or not the relationship should be continued.

A third point of significance was the delegation of responsibility for the off-duty hours of the assignees to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. To the peace-group sponsors this was a very important part of the agreement for, as noted elsewhere in this history, they hoped to develop within the camps communities

<sup>15</sup>Paul Comly French, *Civilian Public Service* (Washington: NSBRO, May 1943), page 3 ff.

through which the peace belief might be conserved and extended. They planned extensive programs of education and training, and of religious living, expecting that from the camps would come leaders trained and disciplined to take part in the building of a new type of society based on ideals of peace. Necessary to this development, however, was the freedom to sponsor programs for the off-duty hours.

The delegation of the function of discipline to the National Service Board may be noted also, as well as the responsibility to provide for all men classified IV-E, regardless of whether or not they were members of the constituent agencies of the board. The former function was significant in the relationship, for, after the program was under way, one of the points of disagreement between Selective Service and the National Service Board centered around the diverse concepts of discipline held by each. The acceptance of all IV-E's into church-administered camps was significant for it meant that the conscientious objector communities would contain a very heterogeneous population, with all the chances for failure and success presented by such a situation.

The areas of responsibility retained within the Selective Service System included the classification of the conscientious objector registrants, the processing of appeals by registrants, their assignment to work of national importance, their transfer between projects, and their discharge at the end of the service period. The official designation of the projects of work to which conscientious objectors might be assigned was likewise the responsibility of Selective Service, as was also the over-all control and supervision of the alternative service program.

The initial step of classifying the conscientious objector registrant was made by the local draft board of the Selective Service System. The regulations provided that:

In Class IV-E shall be placed every registrant who would have been classified in Class I-A but for the fact that he has been found, by reason of religious training and belief, to be conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form and to be conscientiously opposed to both combatant and noncombatant military service.<sup>16</sup>

The regulations further provided that each such registrant be placed in class IV-E only after his eligibility for the deferred classifications had been considered.

Registrants denied their claim of conscientious objection were accorded the right of appeal. Upon such appeal the case was turned over to the Department of Justice for investigation. A hearing was then held by persons especially appointed for this purpose. On the basis of the hearing a recommendation was made to the board of appeal. The board, however, was not bound by the recommendation. A further right of appeal to the president of the United States was also provided. These cases were handled by officers of Selective Service. An enlightening summary of appeal experience is furnished by a report of these officials for the year 1942.

The appeals of conscientious objectors have presented some of the most troublesome as well as the most interesting questions. Here divergent ideas broke sharply over that rock of contention presented by the congressional language "religious training and belief." Local boards and boards of appeal generally brought little sympathy to the consideration of these cases. The tendency was to insist that conscientious objections be based upon certain kinds of religious experience. Many board members held the view that such objection must

<sup>16</sup>*Selective Service Regulations*, regulation 622.51 (a), September 19, 1945.

arise from religious training and belief in those particular religious organizations which make objection to war a definite part of their creed. It was argued, for example, that a member of the Catholic church could not possibly have a basis for conscientious objections.

Hearing officers of the Department of Justice took a somewhat broader but still limited view in their early reports. They held generally that the conviction, while limited to no particular creed, must nevertheless rest upon an easily recognizable religious background with the definition of religion the usual somewhat formal concept.

After much consideration we adopted a more liberal view, based upon a conclusion that the definitions of religion and the variety of religious experience are so nearly infinite in number as to make futile any attempt to say whether this or that one met the law. The practical effect of this decision was to say that conscientious convictions held by a man reared in the environment of a religious civilization and exposed, if only subjectively, to its ethical concepts, have their roots in the same soil from which spring religious convictions, and furnish evidence from which may be drawn the inference that he recognizes a Deity or a power above and beyond the human. This view has prevailed.<sup>17</sup>

Following final classification as a IV-E registrant, the conscientious objector was assigned to one of the several approved base camps. This assignment was determined through a co-operative arrangement between Selective Service and the National Service Board. In general, the conscientious objector was allowed to choose the particular church administrative agency under which he preferred to serve.<sup>18</sup>

The transfer of assignees between units usually involved the consent of several agencies, but the right of final authorization was retained by Selective Service. Transfer

<sup>17</sup>Lewis B. Hershey, *Selective Service in Wartime* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), page 258.

<sup>18</sup>In some instances, when two or more camps were equidistant from the local board of the assignee, a choice of camps was possible.

proved a troublesome problem from time to time as Selective Service, in some instances, withheld transfer approval for reasons of discipline or ordered transfers without prior consultation with the religious agencies.

The control of discharge procedures was also a function retained by Selective Service. During the course of the program various regulations provided a basis for discharge by reason of overage, employment in certain specified industries, mental or physical illness, or dependency needs. These regulations usually paralleled the discharge standards applicable to the armed forces. Systematic demobilization of the conscientious objectors was begun in October 1945, on the basis of length of service, marital status, and number of dependents.

Authority for the selection and designation of the work projects to which the conscientious objectors were assigned, and for the quotas of men to be allocated to each, was held by the director of Selective Service. As indicated in chapter five, the initiative in the establishment of the special projects came from the religious agencies and the assignees, but the final consent of Selective Service was necessary before any men could be assigned to such units. Usually, joint discussion between representatives of the technical agency, the National Service Board, and Selective Service preceded the final determination of the conditions of work and assignment.

The over-all supervisory function exercised by Selective Service involved the regulation of several different aspects of the Civilian Public Service program. Included were such matters as the hours of work in the base camps; the establishment of overhead quotas; the use of limited-service men; the conditions of absence from camp includ-

ing furlough, liberty, and leave regulations; provision for inoculations and vaccinations, provision of time for the safety training and orientation programs of the technical and church agencies; restrictions on assignees living outside officially designated quarters; provision for the maintenance of health standards through inspections; and provision for the maintenance and completion of several systems of records. In addition, control of various other matters was exercised by Selective Service.

The power of over-all supervision and control of the program by Selective Service raised an important question as to the nature of the authority exercised by the National Service Board. One of the essential points involved was the freedom of development to be granted the religious agencies once the scope of their functioning had been defined. Given certain areas of the program for which they were to be responsible, the religious groups expected to be free to operate within those areas according to the techniques and methods evolved by them as nongovernmental, religious agencies.

A second point involved the modification of the various areas of authority delegated to the National Service Board. While recognizing that ultimate authority for the total program lay with the director of Selective Service, the religious groups felt the spirit of their agreement was that such modification would come only after prior consultation between all parties.

Finally, in considering the nature of the original agreement between Selective Service, the technical agencies, and the National Service Board, note must be made of the fact that no provision was made to pay the assignees for their term of service (then thought of as for one

year), or to provide compensation insurance for disability incurred while assigned to work duties. While the religious groups expected to provide dependency assistance, the specific details for such a program of aid were not well developed in the first months of the program. The religious groups did not press for pay in the beginning of the program because at that time pay did not seem to them to be a basic issue. Although their first proposals had contemplated pay for certain types of projects,<sup>19</sup> when these proposals were turned down the question was apparently closed for the time. Their chief point of emphasis was the extension of an effective pacifist witness, and the hardship of a lack of pay seemed to them to be offset by the values accruing to such a witness through a service of sacrifice. In this viewpoint, they felt, they would be supported by many assignees. They also felt that to petition Congress for the necessary appropriation would probably result in the cancellation by that body of the proposed plan of operations.

The viewpoint of Selective Service at that date is not clearly documented. There is some evidence that President Roosevelt was opposed to pay for conscientious objectors, and it seems likely that the government officials were influenced by him in this regard.

Within the lines of this basic understanding the CPS program was begun. The first camps opened in May 1941, followed ten months later by the first special projects. The program was operated continuously until, in March 1947, the last men were discharged from service. During this period of operation several modifications or changes were made in the original agreement between Selective

<sup>19</sup>Page 43 above.



Service and the National Service Board. Those that seem most significant are outlined below.

Perhaps the greatest modification of the original plan of administration lay in the development of the special projects program with all the changed relationships resulting therefrom. In the newer-type units the responsibilities for financial support were revised radically. Generally the technical agency assumed the expenses of food, quarters, work clothing, medical care, and incidental allowances, which, in the base-camp program originally envisaged, were responsibilities of the church groups. At the same time a measure of the control and direction of the unit developments passed from the hands of the church administrative agencies. The superintendents of the special projects, and especially of the hospitals, influenced the patterns of unit events more markedly than did the project superintendents of the base camps. In like manner final authority for discipline was often vested in the technical agency of the special projects rather than in the church sponsors.

Another deviation from the original plan of administration, also occasioned by the emergence of special projects, was the establishment of those units in which the church agencies were also the using or technical agencies. The relief center projects were of this type, for there the assignees' duties were to work in the church relief program. The livestock attendant project was practically on the same basis, as were the relief training units. To a more limited extent the Castañer project in Puerto Rico might be considered in this category also. Projects of this type afforded a great deal of satisfaction to both the church agencies and the conscientious objectors, for both felt



these assignments to be of great significance. Likewise, the assistance rendered by the assignees enabled the agencies to carry forward their church relief and rehabilitation projects more readily than would have been possible otherwise. The merging, in this class of project, of the functions ordinarily divided between the technical agency and the church administrative agency also eliminated certain points of friction and overlapping of function.

A second important modification of the initial plan of administration was the establishment of a series of government-sponsored camps with which the church agencies had no official connection. Since the original program had called for the church agencies to administer all projects for all conscientious objectors, the establishment of this parallel system of camps marked a significant change in pattern. In the new camps the responsibilities ordinarily borne by the NSBRO were shifted to Selective Service and to the technical agency.

Government camps were established by Selective Service in response to the urgent requests of a group of assignees, and of other pacifist groups, particularly the Committee on the Conscientious Objector of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, of which G. Bromley Oxnam was chairman. One of the chief reasons urged by these groups for the establishment of the new-type camps was that the financial obligations of the CPS program should be borne by the government. They held that the government, having drafted the men, was responsible for their support. At the same time a number of the assignees who felt the CPS program was basically wrong wanted to deal directly with the government in expressing their opposition to conscription. Some felt

that the pacifist churches had become "agents of the Government in enforcing the evils of conscription."<sup>20</sup> Others felt that government camps might provide pay, dependency allotments, and compensation insurance.

The position first taken by the National Service Board was that the creation of such camps would be unwise, and so they did not initiate action for their establishment. This viewpoint of the board was expressed in a memorandum approved in September 1942.

We are apprehensive of grave dangers if the Selective Service administration sets up at this time machinery . . . to operate Government-financed camps. It seems that the inevitable tendency will be for that agency to extend its control also over Civilian Public Service [i.e. church-administered camps], and to limit and perhaps completely to abolish such freedom as we have in Civilian Public Service. We, therefore, do not see our way clear in joining at this time in any steps for requesting Government-operated camps . . . . However, we do not stand in the way of others taking such measures as they deem right and proper.

Respect for the individual conscience . . . is fundamental with us. We wish to make it clear, therefore, to all those who are concerned that it is a grave hardship to us to have assigned to Civilian Public Service men who feel that this form of service offends their consciences or does not give them an effective way to bear their religious pacifist witness. We regard it as of the utmost importance, therefore, that conscientious objectors should have some genuine choice as to service of national importance. Specifically, we shall continue to work vigorously to extend the possibilities for . . . [special projects] and recognize that among those to be regarded as eligible for . . . [special projects] in due course should be men who may not adjust readily to . . . camp but who . . . give promise of rendering useful service in such special assignments.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup>From a *Brethren Camp Directors Memorandum*, February 22, 1943.

<sup>21</sup>Minutes of the Board of Directors of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, September 23, 1942, page 4. The memorandum, prepared by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, received "the general approval of the Board."

By the spring of 1943, however, the position of the board had changed somewhat. Although apparently still retaining doubts about the wisdom of creating government units, they recognized that a number of conscientious objectors were not satisfied with church-administered CPS, and they expressed a willingness "as fully as possible to cooperate with those who are seeking to develop some other plan."<sup>22</sup> In April the board approved for transmission to Selective Service a memorandum which raised the problem of "men in camps who do not want to serve under a church agency. We believe that some plan should be devised for these men to operate directly under government supervision."<sup>23</sup>

The first government camp was established at Mancos, Colorado, in July 1943, followed in January 1944 by a second camp at Lapine, Oregon. A third government camp was established at Germfask, Michigan, in May 1944. The Germfask camp was moved to Minersville, California, in June 1945.

With the development of the parallel system of government camps, the conscientious objector registrants had a wider range of choice for their initial assignment. In the first months of government camp administration those registrants who did not express a preference for either type of camp—church-administered or government-administered—were generally assigned to one of the former. In May 1944, however, a new policy was initiated. All who did not specifically ask for church camps were to be assigned to government units.

Another deviation from the administrative agreement

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, March 31, 1943, page 10.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, April 16, 1943, page 1.

first established in 1941 may be noted as the changed or emerging attitudes of the administrative groups in regard to pay, dependency allotments, and compensation insurance. The National Service Board for Religious Objectors came in time to feel that in view of the large number of men who desired pay, provision should be made for such. This feeling was strengthened as the term of service was lengthened from the originally proposed year to an indefinite tenure. Thus by October 1943 the board requested Selective Service to "reconsider the present program at the point of pay for men who desire it,"<sup>24</sup> and by December went on record as definitely requesting pay for such assignees.

Selective Service had come to feel, meanwhile, that the lack of wages was a very important factor in securing public acceptance of the program. They also recognized the value of the no-pay provision in deterring insincere registrants from applying for the IV-E classification.<sup>25</sup> Thus their policy was to oppose pay for conscientious objectors. It seems apparent, however, that regardless of the attitude of Selective Service or the National Service Board, Congress would not have appropriated money for such a purpose. Their unwillingness to provide even the lesser items of compensation insurance and dependency allotments seems to support such a conclusion. Likewise, discussions of the issue by officials of Selective Service and the National Service Board with individual Congressmen revealed a basic unwillingness of the members to support

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, October 14, 1943, page 5.

<sup>25</sup>Page 38 of *Congress Looks at the Conscientious Objector* contains an account of the testimony of Lewis F. Kosch before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, August 12, 1942. ". . . the very fact that a man does not get paid is one means of sorting the conscientious objector from the slacker . . . ."

a wage provision. Paul Comly French reported on one such canvass as follows:

A Selective Service officer has recently discussed the question of pay, maintenance, and dependency . . . with thirty Congressmen, to learn how they felt . . . .

Only one man indicated a willingness to introduce a bill which would provide for pay; the other twenty-nine said they would neither introduce such a bill nor support it. Several were willing to provide maintenance for men in camp, provided the government operated the camps. A majority expressed a willingness to act favorably on dependency provisions, provided this was confined to need, and the funds now in a segregated [frozen] fund in the Treasury were used.

This report is in line with the discussions that I have had with both Senators and Congressmen.<sup>26</sup>

The National Service Board also came to feel that the matter of providing allotments to care for the dependency needs of the assignees was a responsibility of Congress. In October 1943 they expressed this feeling to Selective Service:

We are deeply concerned about the problem of dependents of conscientious objectors, and are desirous of working with you in attempting to solve this problem by proper presentation to the Congress so that they will assume what we feel is their basic responsibility in this area.<sup>27</sup>

Selective Service officials, on their part, were willing for such allotments to be made, provided they were specifically authorized by Congress. The director of Selective Service and other officials appeared before Congressional committees and presented the problem to them. Congress, however, refused to recommend such payments.

<sup>26</sup>Paul Comly French, *General Letter*, January 4, 1944.

<sup>27</sup>Minutes of the Board of Directors of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, October 14, 1943, page 5.



**Educational  
Activities**

Semiformal classes



Camp libraries  
were popular



Bulletin boards  
announced  
discussions,  
provoked thought

**Recreation**

Touch football,  
Fort Steilacoom,  
Washington



Shakespeare (Mid-  
summer Night's  
Dream), Waldport,  
Oregon

Table tennis,  
Lagro, Indiana







Above: **Brethren Service Committee** in early CPS days. Rear—Leland S. Brubaker, Paul H. Bowman, J. I. Baugher, A. W. Cordier, Paul W. Kinsel. Front—H. F. Richards, M. R. Zigler, L. W. Shultz, Mrs. Ross D. Murphy. Committee personnel changed from time to time

Below: **A Camp Directors' Conference.** Rear—Mills, DeLauter, Hodges, Gnagy, Schrock, Townsend. Front—Garver, Huston, Weaver, Row, Yoder, Nichols







Above: **Denominational Representatives Confer.** Rear—M. R. Zigler, Brethren; Orie O. Miller, Mennonite; E. LeRoy Dakin, Baptist; Paul J. Furnas, Friend; Charles F. Bess, Methodist; James C. Mead, Congregational. Front—Paul C. French, Friend; W. Harold Row, Brethren; A. M. Gaeddert, Mennonite

Below: **Pacifists Meet Soldier.** Brethren leaders confer with Colonel Lewis F. Kesch of Selective Service



The National Service Board, meanwhile, established a special dependency council to care for the most pressing needs of the assignees. This council provided assistance to those men not helped by the individual church agency plans.

Legislation providing compensation insurance for conscientious objectors received the active support of Selective Service. Officials of that agency testified before Congress urging that such provision be made on a national basis. Again, Congress refused. Some insurance was provided, however, through the arrangements worked out in the establishment of certain of the special projects.

A further modification of the original agreement emerged as a result of the divergent viewpoints held by Selective Service and the National Service Board in regard to discipline. On the one hand the concepts of the church groups centered around ideals of redemptive procedures. They were primarily concerned with the rehabilitation of offenders rather than with their punishment. They also felt self-imposed discipline was, in the long run, more effective than that which was externally imposed.

Selective Service, on the other hand, felt that such an approach was unrealistic. They felt that prompt and effective punishment should follow a breach of conduct, and that such discipline would have to be imposed largely from without.

As a result of dissatisfaction with the methods of the church groups, Selective Service initiated various disciplinary measures of their own, thus passing into an area originally delegated to the National Service Board. In the first instances their chief line of action in this regard

took the form of denying transfer approvals for assignees who they felt had a poor camp record. Later, with the opening of the government camp at Mancos, they began a policy of transferring discipline cases to that unit, where the assignees could be under their direct supervision. This policy was vigorously protested by various constituent members of the board (including the Brethren officials), but Selective Service felt their procedures justified, and continued with them. Although in some specific instances the church groups were able to secure a reversal of decision, in others they were not. The problem of disciplinary procedures thus remained as a point of dissatisfaction to both Selective Service and the National Service Board.

In various other ways as well, Selective Service modified the church-group field of action. Directives were issued imposing restrictions on the use of off-duty hours for "outside" work, and imposing mandatory penalties for unauthorized absences from camp. In some instances orders affecting the delegated functions of the National Service Board were issued directly to the units rather than through the board. Actions of this type produced a serious crisis when, in March 1943, Selective Service issued a ban on assignee attendance at a "social action" conference in Chicago. The ban, effected by a cancellation of furloughs, brought to the fore issues of civil liberties and the control of off-duty hours. The Brethren administration protested this course of action and refused to transmit to the camps a later order from Selective Service disciplining the men who had attended the conference in spite of the prohibition.

The trend of these modifications was generally a move-

ment from a first basis of rather flexible and broad responsibilities delegated to the church groups toward a narrowing of their field of function. Paul Comly French noted this trend in summing up the experience of the first few years.

We were able, initially, to deal directly and personally with C. A. Dykstra and . . . Lewis B. Hershey. There were few rules and what did exist seemed reasonable. While we were unable to gain approval for any type of project except camp units, we knew of the difficulties in finding any Federal agency willing to use conscientious objectors. We had a wide measure of freedom in selecting the projects within the scope available. We could reject suggested projects and Selective Service System would accept our judgment. We were regularly consulted before major changes were made and had a very real part in shaping the program. We had considerable freedom in terms of AWOL, liberty, leave, cars in camp, transfers, discipline, and similar sections of the program. During this period, our relationship was friendly and even cordial. It was a joint attempt to solve a difficult problem.

During the past 18 months, the program developed and increased from a few hundred men to 6,500. Selective Service changed from a "training program" to a "war program." General Hershey's job became more and more complicated and difficult, and he had less time for the kind of personal relations we maintained during the first period. Selective Service became a smooth-functioning, efficient group. . . . It was only the natural course of government, it seems to me, to expect the expansion in the Camp Operations Division [of Selective Service] and the rules that followed. During this period, Selective Service . . . assumed control of the AWOL problem; made suggestions regarding cars in camp; the number of liberty and leaves allowed; and the selection of camp projects; and exerted real pressure on us in handling disciplinary problems. Since July 1, they have moved further into the area of discipline by arbitrarily transferring men to the government camp and refusing our request for . . . transfers which we have felt would assist us in our admin-

istrative functions. This general tightening has been felt by all of us in the NSBRO office.<sup>28</sup>

Again, in 1945, French remarked upon this tendency of Selective Service to assume a larger control of the program.

The conviction has been growing on me during the past few months that we are having a much smaller part in reaching decisions, in conjunction with Selective Service, than we previously had. The attitude of Selective Service seems to be more and more that we have little right to question their judgments . . . .<sup>29</sup>

Thus, the field of functioning of the National Service Board was narrowed in the later years of CPS, yet their persistent efforts to secure desired changes were successful in many instances. Balanced against the losses in one direction were the gains in another—notably in the development of the larger opportunities of the special projects program.

#### THE NATIONAL SERVICE BOARD FOR RELIGIOUS OBJECTORS

In the preceding pages some indication has been given of the relationship of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors to Selective Service and of the areas of responsibility delegated to it by that governmental agency. In the pages following, attention is turned to an examination of the development of this board and to the manner in which it functioned.

Following the formation of the board by the historic peace churches in October 1940, the organization was expanded to include other groups as well. By November

<sup>28</sup>Paul Comly French, *Board of Directors Memorandum*, No. 231, September 2, 1943, page 1.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, No. 474, April 3, 1945.

the Fellowship of Reconciliation had joined as a member of the board of directors, followed by the Methodists, the Disciples of Christ, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Shortly thereafter the board was reorganized to consist of one member each from the Brethren, the Friends, the Mennonites, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and three members to represent the Federal Council of Churches. This group of seven comprised the membership of the board of directors.

The organization of the board proceeded with the election of its officers, M. R. Zigler, chairman, Orie O. Miller, vice-chairman, and Paul J. Furnas, treasurer. Paul Comly French was secured to direct the work as executive secretary, and a staff of assistants was employed. With the establishment of an office in Washington, the board and the staff were ready to undertake their work.

From the outset, the primary function of the National Service Board and the Washington staff was to serve as the representative of the member-agencies to the government, and to provide a means whereby the separate church groups might co-ordinate their activities. The board of directors, representing the agencies, outlined the broad general policy to be followed in the negotiations with Selective Service, and the staff undertook to effect this policy. French, in particular, served as a liaison agent to the government in a very effective manner. At the same time, representatives of the separate agencies usually met with the Selective Service officials, in company with the Washington staff, when important matters of policy were under discussion. In effect, the constituent members of the board thus dealt directly with the government as separate church agencies. The Brethren officials par-

ticipating in such policy-forming meetings were usually M. R. Zigler and W. Harold Row. The meetings of the board of directors to consider policy and to co-ordinate the plans and operations of its members were supplemented by regularly held meetings of the national CPS directors of each of the agencies operating camps. The national CPS directors also regularly attended the meetings of the board of directors and participated fully in its deliberations and decisions. Further co-ordination of the functioning of the separate agencies was secured by conducting negotiations with Selective Service through the offices of the National Service Board. From time to time the board of directors met with Selective Service officials to discuss their mutual problems.

Although the responsibilities for the actual operation and supervision of the camps and units had been delegated to the National Service Board by Selective Service, the board itself did not undertake this work. Rather, it, in turn, delegated these responsibilities to its constituent members. Thus, the Brethren were given the responsibility for administering certain approved projects, while the Friends and the Mennonites were each given the same for other projects. In time, other church groups as well assumed responsibility for operating units. Among these were the Catholics, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Evangelical and Reformed, and the Disciples of Christ. In delegating authority to these groups, the National Service Board followed a policy of granting them the largest degree of autonomy possible within the limits of the working agreement with Selective Service. Thus, several rather distinct CPS programs emerged which, though co-ordinated at the national level, reflected di-



verse patterns in the local units. This pattern of procedure, wherein each agency, rather than the National Service Board, operated the camps and was more or less independent of the others in conducting its CPS program, had both advantages and disadvantages. As a policy, it permitted each group to follow the line of its respective genius to a large degree. On the other hand, the lack of a centralized authority and supervision raised difficult administrative problems, especially in respect to negotiations with Selective Service. The Washington staff, in dealing with the government, was often unable to commit itself without consulting the separate agencies. Selective Service felt that such a procedure was very slow and cumbersome, and not what they had expected. As a result, they sometimes initiated direct action of their own to secure more prompt results.

Certain other developments and functions of the National Service Board may be indicated briefly. From the first, groups other than those represented by the board of directors were invited to participate in the work. Through the formation of a consultative council and through other means, over thirty-five religious organizations became affiliated with the program in the course of its history. Among the groups were those listed in table 15. A dependency council, a financial council, and a committee on civilian bonds likewise functioned in an effective manner. Within the Washington office special sections were created to deal with specific areas of action. The special projects section, under the direction, at different times, of George Reeves, Tom Shearer, Claude Shotts, and Barrett Hollister, handled much of the work preparatory to the establishment of new units. An ad-



visory section, under the supervision of Huldah Randell and Winslow Osborne, offered legal assistance to conscientious objectors in CPS, in the armed forces and in prison, as well as to registrants whose cases were pending. The camp section, under the direction of J. N. Weaver, handled assignments, transfers, and other matters related to the functioning of the units.

In the course of the CPS program, several criticisms were made of the board and the work which it was undertaking. Some felt the board was not firm enough in its dealings with Selective Service, and exhibited an over-conciliatory attitude. Such critics felt that more vigorous protests were needed at the points of disagreement and that strong demands should be made to secure desired changes. The board, on the other hand, felt that a policy of conciliation and a willingness to negotiate were more appropriate to the ideals which they represented.

**Table 15<sup>30</sup>**

**Groups Affiliated with the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 1944**

Assemblies of God (General Conference)  
 Baptist—American Baptist Home Mission Society  
 Catholic—Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors  
 Christadelphian—Christadelphian Central Committee  
                                   —Christadelphian Service Committee  
 Church of God (Indiana)  
 Church of God (Seventh Day)  
 Church of the Brethren—Brethren Service Committee  
 Congregational Christian—Committee for Conscientious Objectors  
 Disciples of Christ—Department of Social Welfare  
 Dunkard Brethren Church

<sup>30</sup>Paul Comly French, *Three Years of Civilian Public Service*, August 15, 1944, page 34 (a mimeographed report).

Dutch Reformed Church  
Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship  
Evangelical Church—Board of Christian Social Action  
Evangelical and Reformed Church—Commission on Christian Social Action  
Evangelical Mission Covenant  
Federal Council, Churches of Christ in America—Committee on the CO  
Fellowship of Reconciliation  
First Divine Association in America, Inc.  
Friends—American Friends Service Committee  
Jewish—Central Conference of American Rabbis—Committee on CO's  
    —Jewish Peace Fellowship  
    —Rabinnical Assembly of America  
Lutheran—Augustana Lutheran F.O.R.  
    —Lutheran Peace Fellowship  
Megiddo Mission  
Methodist Commission on World Peace  
Mennonite Central Committee  
Molokan Advisory Board  
Pacifist Principle Fellowship  
Pentecostal Church, Inc.  
Presbyterians—Committee on Presbyterians in CPS  
Seventh Day Adventists—Committee on National Service and Medical Cadet Training  
Unitarian Pacifist Fellowship  
United Brethren  
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom  
Young Men's Christian Association

A second series of criticisms was related to the nature of the agreement with Selective Service. Some pacifists felt that the working arrangement was an alliance with a war-making and conscripting government, which was morally wrong. Some pointed out that through the agree-

ment one group of pacifists accepted responsibilities which put it in the position of coercing other pacifists. Others emphasized the point that the peace groups should take no part in the administration of a conscription law. At the same time, the issues were raised of the basic responsibility of the government for financing the program, including pay, dependency allotments, and compensation insurance. Because of dissatisfaction at these points, at least two peace groups associated with the board withdrew their support. These were the War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The latter, in December 1944, resigned as a member of the board of directors, although maintaining a consultative relationship.

On the other hand, the validity or pertinence of these criticisms was not admitted by other peace groups. They maintained that the agreement with the government enlarged rather than restricted the alternatives of the IV-E group by providing an additional choice for the conscientious objector. They pointed out that they, too, were seeking to have the government provide pay, dependency allotments, and insurance. And finally, they maintained that the program was an alternative to conscription for war, and that as such it provided for a separation of the church from the war activities of the state.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Pages 62 and 416 following discuss assignee opinion on these questions.

## CHAPTER 13

### Central Administration and the Local Units

As indicated in the previous chapter, the National Service Board itself did not undertake to operate the CPS camps and units, but rather re-delegated the authority which it had received from the director of Selective Service to its constituent members, primarily the Brethren, the Friends, and the Mennonites. Thus, to the Church of the Brethren, the board passed the responsibility for the operation of certain of the CPS projects. Since the Church of the Brethren had designated the Brethren Service Committee as its official agent in matters relating to alternative service,<sup>1</sup> it was this committee that became responsible for the administration of Brethren CPS.

#### THE NATIONAL BRETHREN CPS OFFICE

Faced with the responsibility of operating alternative service projects, the Brethren Service Committee organized itself for the task ahead. A national Brethren CPS office was created and Paul H. Bowman was secured to serve as national director for the beginning months of the program. The preliminary negotiations relative to the establishment of the first base camps were conducted through the national office working in close co-operation

<sup>1</sup>Page 38 above.

with the National Service Board. Camp sites were inspected, equipment was ordered, and camp staffs were hired. By May 1941, after several months of preparation, Camp Lagro was opened to receive the first ten men<sup>2</sup> assigned to Brethren CPS. In the months following, additional camps and projects were established until, by May 1942, one year later, the Brethren were operating seven camps and two special projects. Meanwhile, Paul H. Bowman had been succeeded by M. R. Zigler as national director, who, in turn, was followed by W. Harold Row. Row took office in Elgin, Illinois, in February of 1942 and remained director of the program until its close. In the years following 1942, the number of camps and projects continued to increase steadily, until, by October 1945, just prior to the start of demobilization, the population of the Brethren units was almost two thousand men.

The national office staff required to administer Brethren Civilian Public Service grew steadily in proportion to the work entailed by the expanding program. From a first staff consisting of the national director and a single secretary, the office personnel was increased, until, by the fall of 1945, between eighteen and twenty-five persons were giving full time to the work. Most of this number were drafted assignees, who, through a special arrangement with Selective Service, were assigned to such work in lieu of service in the base camps or other special projects.

The over-all administration of the Brethren CPS program, vested in the national office by the Brethren Service Committee, involved many different types of function.

<sup>2</sup>These first ten assignees were: Jesse E. Clem, Ora E. Hahnert, John M. Lantis, Loren K. Moser, Harold Phend, Forest W. Shively, Arthur J. Thomas, Bernard W. Vaughn, Charles A. Wagner, E. L. Zollers.

These ranged from the handling of the detailed routine aspects of the program to the initiation and development of religious and educational services aimed to promote the highest possible growth of individual and group life within the conscientious objector units. The more important of these national office activities are outlined in the paragraphs below.

One of the chief responsibilities of the national office was to represent the service committee at the various policy-forming meetings of the National Service Board. W. Harold Row, as the national director of Brethren CPS, and M. R. Zigler, as the executive secretary of the Brethren Service Committee and the Brethren representative on the board of directors, were usually the Brethren officials participating in such conferences. These same men likewise represented the service committee in negotiations with Selective Service and with other governmental agencies. Through the decisions which they made at these times they proved an important factor in shaping Brethren Civilian Public Service policy.

The national CPS office was also responsible, in co-operation with the finance office, for directing the financial policy of the CPS program. The allocation of funds for the operation of the camps and units, especially, was one of their major tasks. An account of the expenditures of the program may be found in Chapter 14.

Meanwhile, the central office at Elgin was responsible ultimately for the innumerable details necessary to the establishment and maintenance of the camps and projects. As noted above, this office, in co-operation with the National Service Board, inspected proposed camp sites and investigated special project opportunities. After specific

units were delegated by the National Service Board to the Brethren for administration, it was necessary to secure personnel to operate the units. In the first months, the local camp staffs were appointed directly by the national office, but this practice was gradually superseded by local elections in the units for staff positions,<sup>3</sup> and by the conference method<sup>4</sup> of selecting directors. After the camp staffs were secured, the national office delegated to them broad responsibilities for administering the local units. At the same time, many of the details preparatory to the opening of the camps were handled by these staff members. Included were the ordering and purchasing of needed supplies and equipment, and the preparation of the camp facilities for housing and feeding assignees.

The details of transferring men between units were also handled, in large part, by the Elgin office. With the growth of the special-projects program, this function became increasingly important. Careful consideration had to be given to the qualifications of the applicants and to the requirements of the project to insure, as far as possible, a satisfactory situation for all parties. In the last years of the program the process became more complex as various restrictions were placed upon transfers. Hospital superintendents were generally unwilling to release men until they could be assured of a replacement, and transfer from base camps during the fire season was exceedingly difficult. The heavy responsibility of handling the work of the placement section for the major period of BCPS was borne by William M. Hammond, Jr., an assignee on special assignment to the Elgin office. Others

<sup>3</sup>Page 110.

<sup>4</sup>Page 412.



who served in the placement section at various times were assignees Vance Geier, Richard Tuttle, and Wayne Lucore. During the course of the program, several thousand applications were processed by the placement section.

In May 1944, the Elgin office undertook the administration of a special dependency allotment plan. Prior to that time, responsibility for the dependency needs of the assignees was placed largely in the local churches. This method of meeting the problem had proved inadequate, however, in some instances, especially in congregations unfavorably disposed toward the Brethren CPS program. Cases were reported in which registrants, not feeling certain that their dependency needs would be met, chose the armed services rather than CPS.

The Brethren dependency plan of the national office initiated in 1944 provided a basic monthly allotment of \$25 for a wife and \$10 for each child. These amounts were adjusted, however, in the light of greater or lesser need. Grants were made only to applicants requesting assistance. In addition to the standard monthly allotments, special allotments to cover emergencies were issued. Such grants often were applied to the expenses of illness, operations, and maternity care for wives of assignees. The Brethren dependency committee considered each application on the basis of investigations by the camp director, local minister, area supervisor, or other representatives. Individuals who served on this committee at various times were D. W. Bittinger, Leland S. Brubaker, I. N. Garber, Robert Greiner, Edwin Grossnickle, E. M. Hersch, Anetta C. Mow, and W. Harold Row.

Paralleling this plan, which covered assignees of Breth-



ren affiliation, was a similar plan administered through a special dependency council of the National Service Board. Through this council, supported jointly by the Mennonites and the Brethren, men of other affiliations assigned to Brethren or Mennonite units received similar assistance.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the efforts indicated and the assistance afforded to many assignees, the problem of dependency was never solved in a manner satisfactory to all. Some men viewed such grants as charity. Others felt unwilling to ask for help from the churches. As a consequence a number of dependents suffered more or less severe deprivation. The problem became particularly acute as the draft came to include more and more fathers in the last years of the program.

Educational assistance offered the local units through the Elgin staff included a variety of services. In the first years, the provision of books, magazines, and other reading materials helped the units to establish their libraries. Assistance was offered in initiating programs of study and activity in the camps. Memorandums and bulletins of information were issued on many subjects of interest, including reports of unit programs, bulletins on orientation, bulletins on language study, on camp newspapers, on visiting speakers, on audio-visual aids, and on numerous other subjects. Eventually these bulletins were compiled into a *Manual of Helps for Educational Secretaries*, a volume that proved very helpful to the local unit leaders.

<sup>5</sup>The Friends cared directly for all dependency cases in their units and thus did not utilize the NSBRO dependency council. All three groups, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, shared in assisting men in prison and in government camps.

During 1943 and 1944, especially, the Elgin office emphasized the promotion and initiation of a series of special schools, including the School of Cooperative Living, the School of Foods Management, the School of Pacifist Living, the School of Race Relations, and the School of Fine Arts (Fine Arts Group). The national office helped to plan such ventures and to secure the necessary finances and leaders. Assistance was also given through the provision of special library materials needed for such study groups.

Meanwhile, increasing emphasis was placed on a program whereby national leaders in various fields were secured by the Elgin office to visit the camps and projects. These visitors were generally well received by the assignees and served to stimulate educational growth.

Through conferences planned by the national office, the local educational secretaries were able to meet together and exchange ideas, and to formulate improved plans for their respective units. Common problems and proposed solutions were discussed and methods and techniques which had proved useful in various camps were brought to light. Such conferences afforded an excellent opportunity for the co-ordination of the national and local educational programs.

In the closing years of CPS, an increasing emphasis was placed on vocational guidance and vocational information services. Special materials requested by individuals or units were secured, and bulletins were issued describing various vocations. A limited placement service offered opportunity for some assignees to find employment in the field of education.

During this period the Elgin office also developed a

comprehensive plan of assistance for men wishing to work for official credit with high schools and colleges. One feature of this program was the provision of opportunity for assignees to take one or more of the general educational development examinations provided by the American Council on Education. These examinations were comparable to the examinations used by the United States Armed Forces Institute. Brethren colleges granted credit to men showing satisfactory achievement scores. At the same time, individual counseling was furnished to assignees regarding their post-CPS educational problems.

In 1945, special educational aid plans were developed to assist men in financing their post-CPS studies. To all assignees who had served in Brethren Civilian Public Service (or to members of the Church of the Brethren who had served under other CPS agencies) the following help was available for study in Brethren colleges. The college granted a discount of fifty per cent of the regular tuition, while the Brethren Service Committee supplied food or cash to the college to meet the remaining fifty per cent. Thus, the equivalent of full tuition was provided. The amount of aid varied in proportion to the length of drafted service. For the first six months of CPS assignment, the men were entitled to benefits for one academic year. For each additional twelve months of CPS service, benefits of an additional academic year were granted.

Supplementing this Brethren college plan was the establishment of a fund from which a limited number of scholarships and loans might be granted. This plan was aimed to include assignees not covered by the Brethren college program.

For the major period of Brethren Civilian Public Service, Morris T. Keeton served as national educational secretary. Others who served in this field were J. Aldene Ecker, Paul Keller, William Stafford, David Lindsey, and Vladimir Dupré.

A further area of responsibility of the national Brethren CPS staff was that of encouraging a religious emphasis in the camps. During the first years, leadership responsibilities for the development of the religious life activities of the camps and units rested mainly with the local staffs. In many cases the first directors were ministers, and as such it was generally expected that they would furnish the impetus and leadership for the religious program. In many camps, however, the details of the directorship seemed to leave little time for such responsibilities. At the same time the nature of the administrative duties of the director worked against his becoming an effective religious leader and counselor. The compulsive features of the program which he was called upon to administer raised a barrier, for some assignees, to the full rapport necessary for a religious ministry. In view of these and other obstacles<sup>6</sup> to the growth of religious activities, the Elgin staff sought to increase their services to the local units. A full-time position for a national religious life secretary was created in 1944. Through this step the staff hoped to stimulate the units to new activity and to provide a measure of leadership and direction to the program. At the same time, assignee leaders within the units were being placed on the camp staffs to care for the religious life concerns.

The increased emphasis by the Elgin office was evi-

denced in several ways. A series of bulletins, prepared by the national religious life secretary, offered information and suggestions on the initiation and development of religious activities. Included in the series were bibliographies on Christian education, and materials on religious films, on divinity schools and theological seminaries, worship programs, recent developments in religion, and other subjects.

Paralleling the bulletin service was a voluminous correspondence between the national and the local religious life secretaries. Problems and proposed solutions were discussed, and ideas of proved usefulness were exchanged. Conferences, also, were held at which these leaders were able to meet and to present more fully their concerns to each other. The mutual stimulation and the growth in knowledge which came from these conferences seemed valuable.

At the same time an increased emphasis was placed upon the promotion of unit visitors and speakers, the majority of whom carried to the assignees a message of religious significance. Some of these visitors were enabled to remain at the units and live with the men for several days to increase the effectiveness of their work.

Somewhat later in the CPS program efforts were made whereby local ministers visited the units and provided a part-time ministry. National religious life secretaries of Brethren CPS were, successively, Ercell V. Lynn and Eli F. Wismer.

An additional field of work emphasized by the Elgin office in the latter period of Brethren CPS was that of personnel counseling and guidance. Increased attention to services of this type was evidenced by the creation in

1944 of a full-time position in the office for such work. At that same time, the units were urged to consider the selection of competent assignees for personnel duties and to provide a place on the staffs for such workers.

The services offered through the national personnel secretary included the provision to the units of many needed resource materials—pamphlets, bulletins, tests, surveys, and other similar items. Various standard forms for recording useful personnel data were devised and distributed. Correspondence between the national and the local secretaries offered a means for a mutual discussion of special problems. In co-operation with the educational section, considerable attention was given to vocational guidance. At the same time, experienced men in the field of counseling and guidance were secured to visit units and to work with the local staffs and with the assignees. Edwin Wright, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was particularly effective in such work. The total program of personnel services was developed with great energy by the Elgin staff in an effort to overcome the vitiating features of the CPS experience.

Closely related to the work of the personnel secretary was that of the demobilization section. By mid-1945 a rather comprehensive program of demobilization services had been worked out preparatory to the release of the assignees from CPS. One phase of the program included the preparation and distribution of a series of post-CPS planning forms. From the data secured in this manner, information on the needs and interests of the men for their post-CPS life was readily available.

Financial assistance for the discharges was offered in two forms. The first was in the nature of small, short-

term loans from an emergency discharge loan fund. Grants of this type were aimed to supply the immediate needs of the men in the interim between discharge and employment. Typical needs of this nature were clothes, maintenance, expenses incident to relocating families, medical expenses, and similar items. A second loan fund, administered through a financial aid committee, was aimed to assist in re-establishing men in business or civilian community life. The loans available from this latter source were larger (up to \$1,000) and of a longer term than those from the emergency discharge loan fund.

The Elgin office also sponsored a job-opportunity service through which employment openings were announced to the units. At the same time, in co-operation with the Inter-agency Demobilization Committee of the NSBRO, support was given to the formation of local demobilization committees in various centers of the United States. These local committees offered a variety of services to the discharges. Local pastors of returning CPS men were also contacted, as were other individuals interested in the welfare of the conscientious objectors. Assignees who worked in the personnel and demobilization sections included Lowell Wright, B. Tarrt Bell, Gerard V. Haigh, Galen Dickey, Ivan Grigsby, and Wayne Lucore.

In addition to the major functions indicated, the central office also handled innumerable routine details attendant to the administration of Brethren CPS. Reports, surveys, daily correspondence, accounting — these and many other tasks were a part of the daily work. An additional service, inaugurated in 1944, was the publications of the *BCPS Bulletin*, a bi-weekly newssheet providing information on Brethren CPS activities.



The working relationship between the national office and the local units involved the delegation of large responsibilities to the camp and unit staffs. Insofar as possible, the central office endeavored to follow a policy of local autonomy. In educational and religious life activities, and in other phases of the off-duty program, the Elgin staff sought to furnish leadership but did not press their program as a demand. Rather, they offered their services more as an advisory and resource group. In other areas of functioning, more conformity to a national pattern was required. Included here were the routines of official reports, or transfer, and of budgets and accounting. The Elgin office also required that the selection of the members of the camp and unit staffs conform to standard, approved procedures.

In the official relationships with the technical agencies, the first terms of agreement were usually set by the national office. The local staffs were able often to modify such terms without prior approval, but major alterations required the consent of the Elgin administration.

In the official relationships with Selective Service, practically all negotiations were conducted by Elgin staff members. This was especially true in matters relating to overall CPS policy. At this point, local units were expected to conform to such procedures and agreements as were established. Practically the only occasions on which local staffs dealt with Selective Service officials were during the inspection tours of Selective Service representatives.

Co-ordination of the national and local administrations were provided through conferences and training schools, through visits of Elgin staff members to the units and visits of local unit members to Elgin, through visits of the



area supervisors, and through a voluminous correspondence. Such means afforded opportunity for an exchange of viewpoints and a bringing to the fore of common problems. At the same time, opportunity was afforded for creative planning.

To prepare assignees and others for administrative positions in the CPS units, four special training schools were instituted. The first was organized in November 1942, and included a session at the national Brethren CPS office in Elgin (one week), followed by a session at the office of the National Service Board in Washington, D. C., (three weeks). At Elgin the topics discussed included the history of the Church of the Brethren and its current emphases, the Brethren Service Committee, and the details of Brethren CPS administration, with especial emphasis on base camps. Provision was also made for individual conferences. At the offices of the National Service Board, the Brethren group assembled with similar groups from Friends and Mennonite units for combined meetings. There the sessions featured materials on general problems, on techniques of successful administration, and on procedures of completing the numerous and complex records required in CPS administration. Helpful contacts were made between the school members, the leaders of the church agencies, officials of Selective Service, and technical agency officials.

A second training school was convened in February 1943, in Washington. After the combined session with the other church agencies, the Brethren group met with the national Brethren administrators to consider topics of special interest to the BCPS program. A third school was convened in May 1943, and a fourth in October 1943.

A series of administrators' conferences, held at intervals throughout the program, also served to co-ordinate the national and local functions. These were initiated by the Elgin staff as a means of mutual exchange of information on administrative problems and techniques, and as a means of joint planning. In the early years the group usually included camp directors and the national BCPS staff, with visiting speakers from technical agencies, Selective Service, and church and pacifist groups. Later, the assistant directors of hospital units, and area supervisors attended the conferences. After 1944, members of the BCPS Council (assignees) were present at some sessions. Highly trained resource people were often present, as well, to help in specific subjects under consideration.

The area supervisors also served to tie together the work of the national and local staffs. These men visited both the units and the national office as part of their regular duties, and thus were able to provide a liaison between the two. Supplementing the visits to the units by the area supervisors were the visits of members of the national staff, including the director, the educational, religious life, and personnel secretaries, and others.

The relationship of the national BCPS office to the Brethren Service Committee was that of a responsible administrative staff to its board of directors. Ultimately the service committee exercised final authority in matters of policy. The service committee in forming its decisions, however, relied heavily upon the recommendations of its staff. This seemed almost inevitable in the light of the lack of precedent for such a program to which the committee might refer, or by which it might be guided. At the same time, the pressures and exigencies of the war-

time social order often precipitated crisis situations demanding immediate action. In meeting these situations, the administrative staff, in effect, made policy to a greater or lesser extent. Thus, much of Brethren CPS policy was initiated administratively, although ultimately the service committee passed the final judgment. The service committee met in regular session approximately four times annually. At such sessions they heard the reports and recommendations of the national BCPS staff.

Within the national staff, W. Harold Row, as national director, was responsible for shaping administrative procedures. In his work, he was assisted by a staff of several persons, including the administrative assistant, J. Aldene Ecker, and the national educational, religious life, and personnel secretaries, as well as others. The usual procedure in developing the national program was for the concerned secretary and the director to meet together to plan the work. In matters of over-all concern, the staff met as a group. Although, ultimately, the final decisions rested with the director, in practice the recommendations of the staff members influenced greatly the pattern of development. This was especially true of such matters as educational, recreational, and religious life activities, and other concerns related to the off-duty-hours program. Since the staff members were, for the most part, assignees, their presence brought to the office a type of assignee representation. Such representation was only indirect, however, since the secretaries were not chosen by the men in the units, and were not responsible to them.<sup>7</sup> In the

<sup>7</sup>Late in the CPS program, the national staff (except the director) became responsible to the assignees to a certain degree through a plan whereby a member of the BCPS Council participated in a review of the work of each secretary. See page 413.

primary relationships of Brethren CPS to Selective Service, and to the technical agencies, the assignee staff had less influence in shaping policy. Such concerns were handled more directly by the national director, the executive secretary of the Brethren Service Committee, and the Brethren Service Committee.

#### ASSIGNEE REPRESENTATION AND CONCERNS

The question of assignee representation in the formation of CPS policy was raised early in the program by various campers. Such men urged the viewpoint that a democratically administered program would, of necessity, provide for such representation. To a limited degree, the pattern which emerged through the years came to incorporate some of the values sought by these assignees.

#### *Local Unit Developments*

Some indication has been given previously of the development of camper participation in the government of the local units.<sup>8</sup> The general movement was from a pattern in which the directors, appointed by the central office, made the major decisions affecting the camp community, to a pattern wherein such decisions came to be shared with the camper body through the camp meeting and various camper committees. Concomitant with this growth was the evolution of the election method of filling local staff positions and the use of assignees in such positions. The emergence of these modes of procedure began early, especially in certain of the camps. In successive years the practices grew and spread through the Brethren

units, until, by 1943-44, their use had become quite general. Meanwhile, by 1942 the practice of using assignees as unit leaders in special projects had begun, coupled, later, by the use of assignees as base-camp directors. By 1944, the assignees were afforded opportunity to participate in the selection of camp and unit directors through the introduction of the conference method as the procedure for filling those offices.

As first used in Brethren CPS, the conference method was a plan whereby representatives of the groups directly affected by the functioning of the directorship met together to select a person for that office. Such groups usually included the national Brethren CPS administration, the assignees of the unit concerned, and the Brethren constituency of the region. At the conference of the representatives, various candidates were considered and reviewed. Lengthy discussions, with the use of reference materials and resource persons, and consultation with the constituencies, were a part of the procedure. Through a process of elimination, the field was narrowed to a few candidates. Final selection was made on the basis of a sense of the meeting when possible. The decision of the conference was regarded as final by the participating groups. Although in practice the conference method was cumbersome and not without some defects, it marked a definite advance in assignee representation.

The first director chosen by this means was Robert Case of Cascade Locks, who took office in February 1944. From that time following, the conference was the regular method used in selecting unit directors.

Two additional features related to the conference method may be noted. They were the authorization by the

Brethren Service Committee for (1) the extension of the method to include the positions filled by the Elgin assignee staff, and (2) the use of a conference to review incumbents previously selected by that method. In actual practice, these features seemed to have been little used.

An additional development in assignee representation, although not of strong or widespread growth in Brethren units, was the CPS Union. This was an organization of assignees into a pattern comparable to that of trade unionism. The plan of organization called for the development of locals within each project and for a national general executive board. Membership was open to conscientious objectors in all-CPS, and the armed services, or discharges, and to conscientious objectors in prison. Among the goals sought by the union were to serve as an agent for its membership in collective bargaining, to provide a means of exchanging views, to provide a channel of action, to obtain just and reasonable conditions of work and pay, and to make known and to endorse the principles of trade unionism. As a whole, the union movement was very weak in Brethren CPS, except at the University of Minnesota project and at the Columbus hospital unit.

One of the notable accomplishments of the Minnesota local was the financing of a national public opinion poll to ascertain public attitude toward conscientious objectors and certain specific issues of the CPS program. The poll was conducted by the Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research in April 1945.<sup>9</sup> The results of the

<sup>9</sup>The Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research, a widely recognized research office, conducts polls on many national issues.

The questions and responses of the poll sponsored by the Minnesota local are listed in the Appendix. Also listed there are materials on other polls concerning conscientious objectors which were conducted by the Princeton office.

poll were surprising in view of the widely accepted stereotype that conscientious objectors were the object of extreme disapproval. The poll sponsored by the Minnesota local, as well as an additional series of polls by the Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research, made it clear that the American public was much more friendly toward conscientious objectors than had been thought. Their tolerance seemed especially significant in view of the fact that the country was engaged in a total war.

### *The National BCPS Council*

Assignee representation in the national administration of Brethren CPS was of slower growth than in the local units. The first elected body of assignees to confer with the national administration, the BCPS Council, was not convened until January 1944.<sup>10</sup> The creation of this body came largely in response to persistent pressure by some campers for "grass roots" representation at the national level. The council consisted of six men, chosen by the assignees in the units, to meet with the Brethren Service Committee and the national BCPS staff to bring before these groups the concerns of the men.<sup>11</sup> They met approximately twice a year over a period extending from January 1944 to March 1946. Each council was newly elected prior to its assembling in Elgin.

Reaction in the units to the creation of the council was enthusiastic on the part of those who had felt that the campers should have an increased voice in the administration of the program. Men in special projects, on the

<sup>10</sup>The BCPS Council was known as the advisory council prior to May 1945.

<sup>11</sup>In addition to the six delegate council members, one man was chosen in each unit as a corresponding member of the council. This member was responsible for handling the business of the council within the unit.



whole, reacted with indifference, partly, it seemed, because they felt that the existent administration represented them adequately, or that in their particular units they were more removed from direct contact with the administration than were the men in the base camps. The Brethren Service Committee, while authorizing the council, was uncertain about the outcome of the experiment.

Originally the group included three representatives from the base camps, one from hospital units, one from special units, and one from the dairy farmers and dairy testers. Subsequently, this representation was changed to correspond with the exodus of assignees from the base camps to the special projects. Each council chose one member to act as interim chairman to care for council business in the periods between the meetings at Elgin. The interim chairman also met with the newly elected council as a seventh member.

Council members were elected by preferential voting within the units. The members were considered as representing all the concerns of the units which had elected them, rather than those of a single "party" or group of men. Assignees elected to council positions were: first council, January 1944, Robert Bowers, Charles Pieh, Glen Evans, James Cassel, Jesse Clem, and Robert Rohwer, interim chairman; second council, November 1944, John Brown, Channing Briggs, Mark King, Thurl Metzger, Kermit Sheets, and William Stafford, interim chairman; third council, May 1945, Leo Metzger, Earl Griffin, John Higgins, Leo Baldwin, John Hanks, and Harold Guetzkow, interim chairman; fourth council, November 1945, Joel Petre, Dave Orser, William F. Garber, Harry E. Miller, Clarence Quay, and Maurice Metzger, interim



chairman; and fifth council, March 1946, Ralph Michener, Eugene Miller, William Wheeler, Wilbur J. Stump, Herbert Imboden, Jr., and Lloyd Danzeisen, chairman.

Council sessions with the Brethren Service Committee and the Elgin administrative staff were devoted primarily to presenting the concerns of the men to these groups. Coming as they did directly from the units where they shared with their fellow assignees common group problems, the council members were able to present the problems of CPS life in a direct and effective manner. This injection of the feelings and experiences of the men of the units into the discussions of policy helped to counterbalance a distance from the realities of CPS life which of necessity characterized those who were not living in the units as assignees. In the deliberations with the service committee, the council had advisory powers only, the voting being restricted to the members of the committee.

The concerns discussed by the council were drawn from the thought of the men as expressed through polls, questionnaires, queries, letters, and discussions held in the units prior to the council meetings. Because the concerns of the assignees reveal their attitudes in regard to the Brethren CPS program, they are considered at some length in the pages following.

Highest on the list of assignee concerns were the financial problems of pay, dependency, and compensation insurance. The very pressing issue of provision for dependents was one about which the men felt strongly. They urged that the Brethren CPS administration exert vigorous pressure to have the government assume this financial burden. The campers wished to turn to the church for dependency help only as a last resort.

Campers were almost as unanimous in their position of desiring pay for work performed, although there was a minority who preferred to receive no remuneration. The amount usually thought of was the equivalent of army base pay. The compulsion of working without wages was regarded by a number as a form of slavery. Others felt the value of payless work as a form of sacrificial service was greatly diminished when the sacrifice was not voluntary, but imposed from without.

Assignees also frequently expressed their desire for compensation insurance to be provided by the government.

As a means of gaining insight into the thinking of the assignees on these concerns, the following excerpts from replies to a questionnaire distributed by the Council to all Brethren CPS units are listed:<sup>12</sup>

(Unit No. 47) I feel that it should be the responsibility of the government to appropriate sufficient finances for operation of CPS and for paying the men army base pay.

(Unit No. 121) I believe that BSC should continue to do everything possible to achieve these aims [pay, dependency, and compensation insurance] for the campers.

(Unit No. 134) Must have dependency, pay and insurance to lift CPS more than 1/2 plane above prison and stop forcing C.O.'s with dependents into the army.

(Unit No. 121) I think if this problem was solved that this would eliminate a number of the other problems.

(Unit No. 51) If CPS is to be truly a voluntary working without pay it should be put on an individual basis. To respect the minority, these benefits should be available to all. If some did not want to accept them, that would be their personal decision and would be a much truer testimony, because it would be their decision rather than

<sup>12</sup>This questionnaire was distributed by the BCPS Council in October 1944. The responses noted here are substantiated by letters, queries, and summaries of unit opinion which were sent to the council.

a decision that they are forced to accept made by someone else.

(Unit No. 134) Those responsible for the laws which force men into conscription should also be responsible for caring for [them].

The men also expressed several concerns relative to the type of work projects being provided. Generally, they desired work which would better utilize their skills and training, and work more directly and immediately related to the welfare of persons. At the same time, several questions were raised about war-related work, and the unimportance of some of the base-camp assignments.<sup>13</sup>

The problem of the men in the camps who were frequently in sick quarters also was an expressed concern of the assignees. They felt more should be done to prevent the mental and physical deterioration which was increasing with each year of conscripted work. They felt also that men had been assigned to CPS who were below the physical standards of induction, and that others were being retained whose condition warranted discharge. There was, at the same time, a recognition of the problem of those men who were malingerers. For all these cases the assignees urged a more effective and energetic program of action.

The administration of Brethren CPS and the extent of democracy within the camps and units were also frequently discussed concerns of the assignees. One set of criticisms centered around the point that administrators who were not themselves draftees living and working in the units, although fully sympathetic, could not feel the frustrations and compulsions of CPS life in the same manner as the assignees. It was pointed out that payless work and the negative features of drafted service could

<sup>13</sup>Pages 92-99 discuss these topics in detail.

be comprehended only by those who were unpaid, and upon whom the draft law acted. Another series of criticisms was related to the policy of the national administration, which was frequently characterized as lacking in firmness in dealings with the government. Many of the men felt the national staff should express itself more forcibly to the government and present a stiffer attitude in their negotiations. The administration, on the other hand, felt a policy of conciliation and a willingness to negotiate was more in accord with the ideals which they represented. At the same time, the national administration was also critical of various aspects of CPS and the program which it was developing. They felt that the Selective Service framework, within which they worked, was limiting in nature, and that CPS could not achieve all the goals which pacifists were seeking.

Reactions of the men varied on the question of assignee representation in the formation of Brethren CPS policy. One point of view was that within the framework of conscription it was practically futile to talk about democracy. Another point of view was that the assignees should be given a direct and responsible voice in shaping the program. Various interpretations were held as to how effective a representation was provided through the established practices—the conference method, the BCPS Council, the use of assignees as staff members, the election of local unit staffs. Perhaps the most fundamental criticisms relating to democracy within Brethren CPS centered around two major concepts. The first of these involved the viewpoint that the control of the program by the church reflected: (1) an overemphasis upon its role as the originator of the program, and (2) an overemphasis

upon its role as the financial supporter of the program. It was felt that the hundreds of human personalities constituting Brethren CPS far outweighed the financial investment.

The second concept involved the point of view that a true representation could ensue only when representatives were elected by, and were responsible to, their constituencies. It was felt that, although in many respects, the goals of the service committee and the national staff were the same as the goals of the assignees, until the men had a direct share in selecting the persons to fill such policy-forming positions, the men did not have a responsible or full representation.

In the last years of Brethren CPS, following the cessation of hostilities, the question of whether or not the church should withdraw from the administration of the program was raised with a new and strong emphasis. The sentiment of the majority of the men was apparently that the church should cease its function as an administrative agency. They felt the mission of the church was not to assist in the administration of a conscription program. A number indicated, however, a desire for a continuing educational and religious ministry by the church. At the same time, the majority of the men apparently felt the church should continue a CPS program for those assignees desiring church-sponsored units.

Other concerns voiced by the men included recommendations for the elimination of racial segregation, for strong opposition to peacetime conscription, and for a more rapid demobilization, as well as recommendations on many other issues.

In the sessions at Elgin, the council presented many of

these concerns of the campers. Thus, they sought to extend the use of the conference method in filling positions and in reviewing those already filled. They brought to the fore the financial problems of CPS men, urged improved types of projects, pressed for concerted opposition to peacetime conscription, an increasingly firm stand by the service committee on such issues as race relations, and the support of men conscientiously opposed to certain types of project work. They also proposed a comprehensive preparation for demobilization and a careful re-evaluation of the BCPS program. Two councils considered directly the question of whether or not the church should withdraw from the administration of CPS. The recommendation of one (November 1945) was that rather than withdraw from the program the participating groups should seek to revise it. The recommendation of the other (March 1946) was for withdrawal.

The response of the Brethren Service Committee and the Brethren CPS administration to the presentation of concerns was generally to concur with the council on the major values being sought, to a number of which the administration was already committed. On the question of the method of achieving these values, however, there was a divergence of opinion. Generally the stand of the committee was more conservative than that of the council, particularly in regard to the amount of direct assignee representation in the formation of policy which should be granted, and in regard to the methods of negotiating with the government.

The reaction of the assignees within Brethren CPS to the achievements of the council varied from those who gave little weight to its contribution (since the council

did not have the voting privilege) to those who felt that genuine progress had been made. Men who served on the council felt that the relationship with the Brethren Service Committee had been very satisfactory, for the meetings of these groups had been characterized by a friendly and understanding spirit. In other ways, as well, the council members were pleased with gains which they felt had been made, though they were always conscious that their constituency tended to minimize accomplishments as long as the council was an advisory body only.

In considering the degree of assignee representation in the administration of the Brethren CPS program, at both the national and local levels, the following seems clear. Within those areas of function delegated to the Service Committee by Selective Service, the men had considerable influence in giving direction to policy. In educational and religious activities, especially, and in other aspects of the leisure-time program as well, their influence was very significant. At the same time, however, in matters pertaining to the primary relationship of the service committee to Selective Service and to the technical agencies, the influence of the men was much less. Further, insofar as the assignees were represented in the selection of persons to fill policy-making positions and in the review of the work of such officials, a direct and responsible representation was effected. Insofar as such participation was limited, there was a corresponding loss in representation.

Finally the practice of using assignees in staff positions provided for the direct injection into the program of the feelings and thought patterns that were common to them and their fellow assignees by virtue of their conscientious objector position.



## CHAPTER 14

### Some Financial Aspects of Brethren CPS

The Church of the Brethren, by the terms of its agreement with the Federal government, assumed large financial responsibilities within the Civilian Public Service program. Ultimately, its net expenditures for the operation and administration of the Brethren units totaled \$1,927,819. The way in which this sum, representing one of the largest budget items in the history of the church, was raised, and the manner in which it was expended, form the subject of the following pages.

#### CHURCH PROMOTION AND SOURCES OF SUPPORT

The funds and supplies for the maintenance and administration of the Brethren CPS program came to the church headquarters, and to the CPS units, through a variety of channels. In some instances, individual donors simply carried their gifts to the camps or projects in person as a spontaneous expression of support. More often, however, funds were given through the regular channels of the local congregation, whence they were forwarded to the church headquarters at Elgin for allocation to the Brethren Service Committee budget. Or, in many cases, individual contributions were sent directly to the Elgin office. Gifts of food, from individuals or groups, were collected and taken to the units, or to the New Windsor, Nappanee, or other service centers of the church. From



these points, the supplies were redistributed to the camps. Contributions to the Brethren CPS program were voluntary, with no individual assessments being made.

The appeal to the church members to support the Brethren CPS program was made through many sources. Articles in the church paper, the *Gospel Messenger*, explained the nature of the undertaking and the need for support. Pamphlets and newssheets from the service committee office likewise carried the appeal for funds. From the office of the promotional secretary of the church, H. Spenser Minnich, a special program of giving was encouraged whereby church members were urged to contribute to the special needs of the CPS program as well as to the other interests of the church. One phase of this promotional effort was developed through the issuance of special Brethren Service certificates. These certificates were designed to offer an alternative to the purchase of war bonds. Unlike the bonds, however, the certificates were simply a recognition of outright gifts.

Regional, district, and local representatives of the Brethren Service Committee carried the appeal for funds directly and personally to the individual members of the church. Through talks and programs, often given in cooperation with local or district committees, the needs and goals of the venture were outlined. Much of the promotion work was also carried forward through church groups such as the women's aid societies, and through interested pastors and elders or lay leaders. At times, helpful contacts were also made by groups of assignees from the units who were able to visit various congregations and thus bring the CPS program to their attention.

The response of the Brethren constituency to the needs



## CERTIFICATE

### BRETHREN SERVICE COMMITTEE

#### CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OFFICES

ELGIN, ILLINOIS

*This certifies that* Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Miller

has contributed the within stated sum to the Church of the Brethren to be used in Civilian Public Service, in relieving suffering, in creating good will and in making Christ known as Prince of Peace.

#### Contributor's Statement of Purpose

This contribution, made in addition to my normal giving, is in consideration of tragic world need, of the sacrifice of life and money which many are making in war and of my desire to support constructive service to humanity. This contribution is intended as an alternate service to war, in which my conscience does not permit me to engage. I give it voluntarily, asking neither interest nor return of principal.

*Mr. & Mrs. J. L. Miller*  
Signature

In witness whereof the Brethren Service Committee  
of the Church of the Brethren issues this certificate  
on this 2nd day of April A. D. 1943

*H. Spencer Minnich*

General Financial Secretary

*Forrell Thayer*  
Local Church Officer



This certificate offers insight into the spirit behind the contributions to the Brethren Service Committee. In one year alone, 1942-1943, over eighty-six thousand dollars was given in this manner.

and aspirations of the program varied greatly from place to place. In some congregations and districts a wholehearted support was forthcoming. Money, food, and clothing were contributed generously. At the same time, from such groups there often came a number of IV-E assignees. In other congregations, the response was less favorable or was negative, and support was correspondingly weak or lacking. In many instances, congregations exhibited a divided or mixed response, with some members contributing their time and money while others opposed the CPS program. Still others were neutral or indecisive in their thinking and action.

Reports from regional secretaries indicate that favorable responses were greatest from rural groups. Industrial workers tended to be less enthusiastic contributors to the program. Favorable responses also came more readily in churches from which outstanding young men had entered CPS. The reverse was also true. Though some members contributed who did not personally hold the nonresistant position, their support was limited. Rather, the strongest support came from congregations which were more fully in sympathy with the peace tenets of the church. Response was also more ready in congregations in which the pastors had placed consistent emphasis on the peace doctrine over a period of years.

In spite of varying attitudes among local groups and individuals, and their corresponding responses, the overall budget needs of the program were fully met. For the period 1941-1948, the amount of funds contributed to the service committee from Brethren sources, and designated for CPS, totaled \$455,315.07 (table sixteen). Coupled with this sum was a total of \$1,622,129.38 contributed

from Brethren sources to the service committee without a specific designation. Thus, over \$2,000,000 was available through the contributions of the Brethren constituency. Of the undesignated Brethren service funds, \$873,131.51 was used for Civilian Public Service.

Supplementing these resources were very substantial contributions from other denominational groups, and from individuals, including some assignees.<sup>1</sup> A number of denominations whose members were assigned to Brethren CPS projects paid to the Brethren, in full or in part, the expenses incident to maintaining such men in the Brethren units. In many instances, such contributions were the result of a promotional program, initiated through the National Service Board, which sought to interpret to various church groups the needs and goals of the CPS program. Dr. E. LeRoy Dakin, as well as others, assisted in this work. By February 1948, \$599,373.04 had been contributed to the Brethren Service Committee from non-Brethren sources. This amount represented over one fourth of the net cost of the total Brethren CPS program.

In addition to monetary contributions, large amounts of clothing and food were given for use in the camps and projects. Early in 1941, requests were made to the Brethren congregations for bedding, clothing, and packets containing sheets, pillow cases, and other articles for the assignees. The women's groups throughout the Brethren churches responded quickly. In August 1941, the service committee appointed Anetta C. Mow to work on prob-

<sup>1</sup>In the early years, especially, some assignees, Brethren and non-Brethren, or their families, paid monthly the estimated costs of their maintenance (\$30-\$35 monthly in Brethren-sustained units, and \$5.00 monthly in using-agency-sustained units).

lems of this nature. Churches were asked to contact her office and then to send their contributions directly to the points of greatest need. In the first year of the BCPS program, approximately one thousand packets and one thousand blankets and comforters were contributed, plus a considerable amount of other material.<sup>2</sup> In 1943, clothing contributions totaled over fifteen thousand pounds, valued at approximately \$13,000.<sup>3</sup> Donations included not only bedding and clothing, but also over two hundred layettes for CPS families, prepared and sent by local church groups.

An extensive project of food collection for Brethren camps was launched in the summer of 1942. John D. Metzler, full-time Brethren Service Committee regional worker, and Galen Kilhefner, Don Snider, A. Stauffer Curry, James Elrod, and J. W. Lear, regional secretaries, and others supervised the food-collecting program and handled promotional work in contacts with local churches. These secretaries worked through the district Brethren service representatives and committees. Church groups and individuals assumed the responsibility of cultivating gardens, canning tons of fruits and vegetables, and preparing meats and lard. Trucks—some rented, some purchased, and some donated—collected the food and distributed it to the camps. Though all sections of the brotherhood responded, the Central Region was particularly active and generous. Something of the spirit of the contributors in this area is revealed in the following letter of a regional worker:

<sup>2</sup>Report of Mrs. Ross D. Murphy, *Gospel Messenger*, August 22, 1942, page 19. No complete record was kept of clothing contributed to Brethren CPS, nor was budget credit given for it.

<sup>3</sup>*Report on Clothing Contributions*, January 1 to November 12, 1943, office of Anetta C. Mow, Elgin, Illinois.

A week or so ago I called the chairman of the men's work and asked him if he could find us some help for moving the food from New Paris to Nappanee. He asked for a week's time and agreed to deliver. Beginning yesterday morning at 8:00 o'clock men started coming and also trucks and trailers until there was a total of fifty-five men, nine trucks, and five trailers on the job. From 8:00 until about 2:00 in the afternoon between eighty and eighty-five tons of food had been hauled from New Paris and stacked in place in the warehouse at Nappanee. That's something that can't possibly happen when you sit at a desk all of the time. I like Northern Indiana!<sup>4</sup>

Reports such as the following came in from those who worked in the food-collecting program:

The man who was turned down because of physical reasons, went home and planted sweet corn. When it was ready the young people of his local church helped in the harvest. Canning costs he paid, for he said that he could help in this way even if he were not in camp. Result, 500 cans of corn brought in to the depot.

The church (Hurricane Creek) with a membership of 53 as listed in the Yearbook, located nearly 90 miles away from District Conference, with a membership living in what is not regarded as the best part of Illinois, sent a truck load of food to the District Conference. This was perhaps the largest bulk donation from any congregation in the district, although of the 23 congregations 17 are larger and more than half are closer.

There is the . . . man who quietly, at different times, has telephoned to the food administrator of his district and notified him of certain items of food ready. So to date from this one farm have gone 35 dressed chickens, a sow and five pigs, a quarter of beef, one half hog, one dressed cow . . . four dressed hogs whose combined live weight was 1000 lbs., and about ten pounds of honey.<sup>5</sup>

To many assignees in the camps, these contributions were evidence of the interest and goodwill of many Breth-

<sup>4</sup>From a letter of John D. Metzler, published in the *Gospel Messenger*, January 22, 1944, page 7.

<sup>5</sup>Food Project Reports, Brethren Service Committee files.

ren. Some insight is given into the appreciation of the men by the following excerpt:

One director says, "The greatest good results from the coming of the food truck, especially to non-Brethren boys in camp. These men have rather thought that they would be forgotten, pushed off here in the woods. But the truck, loaded with nicely prepared food, seems like a package from home . . . ." Drivers say that there is never any scarcity of help to unload the truck.<sup>6</sup>

In 1944 the program of food collection was enlarged to provide food for colleges of the Church of the Brethren, where its money value was turned into a fund providing for the postwar education of men in Brethren CPS.

Eventually, the program of food collection, begun as a CPS project, was expanded to include contributions for foreign relief. As the CPS needs became less, and the relief needs greater, the food-collection program became primarily a relief project.

#### MAJOR EXPENDITURES OF BRETHREN CPS

From the point of view of finance, two types of units may be distinguished in Brethren CPS. The first type included those whose financial support was borne primarily by the Brethren Service Committee as the sponsoring and administrative CPS agency. These may be designated as Brethren-sustained projects. The second type included those whose financial support was borne primarily by the agency using the men. These may be designated as using-agency-sustained projects. In the beginning months of the program, units of the first type only were established. These were the base camps oper-

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*



ated in conjunction with the Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, and National Park Service of the Federal government. In such camps, the Brethren Service Committee was responsible for the major expenses of operation, including the costs of food and medical care for the assignees, the costs of the religious, educational, and recreational program of the camp, the salary of the director and other paid staff members<sup>7</sup> (not including technical agency personnel), office expenses, the costs of utilities, fuel, and a portion of the camp equipment, and various other items.

Within a relatively short time, however, the first unit of the second type had been established. This was the dairy farm project, begun in May 1942. Three months later, in August, the first Brethren hospital unit, Sykesville, was opened. In these projects, and others of the same type, it was the responsibility of the agency using the men to bear the major costs of operation, including the provision of food, medical care (in some instances the B.S.C. bore part of the costs of medical care), living quarters, compensation insurance, and a monthly allowance to cover the costs of clothing and incidental personal expenses.

In the months and years following 1942, through the initiative and the efforts of the assignees and the church agencies, especially, there were established many additional units of the type wherein the using agency assumed the major financial responsibilities of the project. By the midpoint of the CPS program, April 1944, the number of such units had increased until their population was almost equal to that of the Brethren-sustained type. By

<sup>7</sup>Staff members or directors who were assignees were not paid.



the end of 1944, the majority of the assignees were in units financed in major part by the using agency. This trend continued for the duration of the Brethren CPS program.

At the same time, it should be noted that, in the course of the program, five units were established for which the Brethren CPS administration assumed major financial responsibilities, but which were not base camps. These were the public health units at Crestview and Tallahassee, Florida; the special soil conservation units at Williamsport and New Windsor, Maryland; and the Fish and Wildlife Service project at Bowie, Maryland.<sup>8</sup> These projects, together with the base camps, were all of the type wherein the major expenses of operation were assumed by the Brethren administration.

A comparison of the costs to the Brethren Service Committee of the two types of projects outlined—those for which the committee assumed the major expenses, and those for which the using agency assumed the major expenses—may be made by considering points A and B, table sixteen. For the period March 1, 1941, to February 28, 1948, the net cost to the Brethren for the first type was \$1,231,730.39. For the same period, the net cost for the second type was \$70,448.69. Further data on costs may be drawn from table seventeen. As of February 1945, table seventeen shows that the average cost to the Brethren per man per month for Brethren-sustained projects was twenty-four dollars and ninety-three cents. The average cost to the Brethren for using-agency-sus-

<sup>8</sup>The major expenses of the Castañer, Puerto Rico, project were charged to the relief and rehabilitation budget, rather than to the CPS budget. The same was true for the Minnesota project in starvation and rehabilitation and certain of the other CPS projects related to relief and rehabilitation.

tained projects was two dollars per man per month. These figures do not include the expenses of the Elgin administrative office or the National Service Board, or the costs of dependency and post-CPS aid.

An examination of the details of expense within units of the first type (table sixteen) shows food the major budget item. Approximately fifty-four per cent of the net cost of these units was for commissary purposes. (This figure includes the value of most of the food donated to CPS, which for budget purposes was charged against the camp commissary account.)

The second largest expenditure in these units was the monthly cash allowance of two dollars, fifty cents, paid to the assignees. This item was approximately nine per cent of the total net cost of operation. The allowance was paid in lieu of furnishing minor personal supplies.

Other large items of expense were: medical and dental care, five and three tenths per cent of the total net cost; utilities and fuel, five and one tenth per cent; transportation, five and one tenth per cent; salaries and wages, four and three tenths per cent; repairs and supplies, four and two tenths per cent; and religious, educational, and recreational activities, three and six tenths per cent.

A survey of the using-agency-sustained projects reveals that the major expenditures by the Brethren were for educational, religious, and recreational activities, for office costs, and for other items incident to the administration of the units, including the salaries of the area supervisors.

The total Brethren expenditures, March 1, 1941—February 28, 1948, for religious, educational, and recreational activities for all BCPS units was \$100,400.47. This was

five and two tenths per cent of the total BCPS expenditures for all purposes.

Certain other items of cost within the Brethren CPS program may be noted briefly (table sixteen). For dependency purposes, a total of \$87,299 was expended during the period March 1941—February 1948. Dependency costs in Brethren CPS were borne entirely by the service committee inasmuch as none of the using agencies made provision for such grants. For the same period, \$44,194.97 was expended for post-CPS educational and financial aid. Practically all of the educational expenditures, \$28,869, were paid to Brethren colleges under the educational aid plan described on page 402.

Information on the average daily and monthly costs per man within specific Brethren-administered units may be found in table seventeen. A detailed budget itemization of such costs is given in table eighteen. Table nineteen indicates the total budget of the Brethren Service Committee.

**Table 16**

**Net Expenditures of the Brethren for Civilian Public Service<sup>9</sup>**

**March 1, 1941—February 28, 1948**

**A. Brethren-sustained projects\***

1. Commissary .....	\$677,101.65
2. Assignee cash allowances .....	119,150.11
3. Medical and dental .....	65,343.41
4. Utilities and fuel .....	63,740.80
5. Transportation .....	62,940.25

\*Includes: Copemish, Manistee, Wellston, Walhalla, Kane, Marienville, Lyndhurst, Bedford, Santa Barbara, Belden, Cascade Locks, Waldport, Lagro, Magnolia, Williamsport, New Windsor, Crestview, Tallahassee, Bowie.

<sup>9</sup>The data in this table was furnished by Robert G. Greiner of the Brethren Service Committee and the General Brotherhood Board finance office.

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6. Salaries and wages .....	53,085.73	
7. Repairs and supplies .....	52,579.75	
8. Religion, recreation, education ...	45,257.58	
9. Equipment .....	37,507.49	
10. Office expense .....	16,862.25	
11. Miscellaneous .....	13,874.92	
12. Telephone and telegraph .....	12,266.55	
13. Insurance .....	12,019.90	\$1,231,730.39
<hr/>		
B. Using-agency-sustained projects** ...		70,448.69
C. Elgin administration (telephone and telegraph, paper, salaries, travel, etc.)		296,267.03
D. National Service Board— Brethren share .....		125,953.71
E. Dependency grants— Brethren committee .....	53,838.53	
Thru National Service Board .....	33,460.47	87,299.00
<hr/>		
F. Brethren in Mennonite and Friends units .....		39,061.83
G. Post-CPS aid—loans .....	15,325.97	
Educational aid .....	28,869.00	44,194.97
<hr/>		
H. CPS share of Brumbaugh Unit costs		32,864.00
TOTAL .....		<u><u>\$1,927,819.62</u></u>

### **Source of Funds**

Non-Brethren donations .....	\$ 599,373.04
Brethren donations designated CPS .....	455,315.07
From undesignated BSC funds .....	873,131.51
<hr/>	
<u><u>\$1,927,819.62</u></u>	

\*\*Includes: Agricultural experiment stations, dairy farmers, dairy testers, mental hospitals and training schools, guinea pig units, Mt. Weather, Gainesville, mental hygiene unit, area offices, etc.

**Table 17**  
**Brethren Civilian Public Service Units**  
**Average Daily and Monthly Costs Per Man<sup>10</sup>**  
**To February 28, 1945**

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Total cost</i>	<i>Av. men per day</i>	<i>Cost per day</i>	<i>Cost per month</i>
<b>A—Brethren-sustained projects</b>				
Lagro .....	\$ 61,229.26	83	\$0.749	\$22.47
Magnolia .....	85,447.66	98	.729	21.87
Kane .....	105,820.95	116	.760	22.80
Wellston .....	136,172.13	130	.795	23.85
Cascade Locks .....	134,067.38	136	.843	25.29
Williamsport .....	51,151.97	33	1.496	44.88
Tallahassee .....	39,300.95	27	1.373*	41.19
Bedford .....	94,379.68	123	.753	22.59
Walhalla .....	44,113.38	112	.660	19.80
Belden .....	110,586.06	133	.843	25.29
Marienville .....	28,756.96	70	.911	27.33
Waldport .....	90,757.33	110	.952	28.56
Bowie .....	17,132.38	23	.768	23.04
New Windsor .....	6,011.20	31	1.090	32.70
Average per man .....				24.93
<b>B—Using-agency-sustained projects**</b>				
projects** .....	35,768.20	739	.067	2.01
<b>C—NSBRO</b>				
NSBRO .....	74,288.23	1,235	.042	1.26
<b>D—Elgin</b>				
Elgin .....	78,910.39	1,235	.044	1.32
<b>E—Brethren in Friends units</b>				
Brethren in Friends units ..	12,269.03	11	.99	29.70
<b>F—Brethren in Mennonite units</b>				
Brethren in Mennonite units	13,048.11	12	.876	26.28
<b>G—Other</b>				
Other .....	21,285.03			
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1,240,496.28		\$0.695	\$20.84
			average	average

\*\$1.00 per man per day charged to CPS budget and remainder to relief and rehabilitation budget.

\*\*Includes all units not listed under A, and excepting those charged primarily to the relief and rehabilitation budget.

<sup>10</sup>The data in this table is from a similar table compiled by Benjamin F. Hottel, of the finance office, May 2, 1945.

**Table 18**

**Itemized Expenditures for Base Camps and Williamsport and Tallahassee**

**Average Monthly Costs Per Man to February 28, 1945<sup>11</sup>**

<i>Budget item</i>	<i>Average for ten base camps</i>	<i>Williams- port</i>	<i>Talla- hassee</i>
1. Salary .....	\$ 1.08	\$ 2.97	\$ 3.96
2. Commissary .....	12.99	13.74	15.96
3. Transportation .....	1.11	2.01	3.36
4. Telephone and telegraph .....	.18	.42	.12
5. Electricity .....	.63	1.14	.48
6. Equipment .....	1.17	13.68	4.11
7. Office expense .....	.30	.42	.75
8. Fuel .....	.51	1.38	.21
9. Repairs and supplies .....	.99	4.11	1.08
10. Insurance .....	.21	.45	.63
11. Medical .....	1.14	.69	7.29
12. Miscellaneous .....	.42	.54	.30
13-15. Education, worship, and recreation	.90	.90	.90
16. Assignee allowance .....	2.28	2.43	2.04
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$23.91	\$44.88	\$41.19
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Elgin office expense .....	\$ 1.32		
NSBRO expense .....	1.26		
	<hr/>		
	\$ 2.58		
	<hr/>		

Note: Tallahassee and Williamsport costs include large amounts for equipment (and the Hopewell farm). When the units were closed, these investments were liquidated. Thus the costs of operation appear larger than they eventually proved to be.

<sup>11</sup>The data in this table is from a similar table compiled by Hottel, May 2, 1945.

**Table 19**  
**Brethren Service Committee\***  
**Church of the Brethren**  
**Seven-year Report of Receipts and Expenditures**  
**March 1, 1941, to February 28, 1948**

	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Percent of total receipts</i>	<i>Net expenditures</i>	<i>Percent of total spent</i>
1. Brethren Service Fund	\$1,622,129.38	38.3	\$ 677,863.70	16.2
2. Civilian Public Service	1,023,794.13	24.2	1,620,572.33	38.8
3. China Relief . . . . .	112,299.24	2.7	146,319.53	3.5
4. General Relief . . . . .	530,521.00	12.6	628,580.77	15.1
5. Heifer Relief . . . . .	243,935.05	5.8	157,618.45	3.8
6. European Relief . . . . .	671,011.62	15.8	921,964.42	22.1
7. Falfurrias, Texas, Fund	20,000.00	.5	12,219.22	.3
8. Reconstruction and Reserve Fund . . . . .	3,375.47	.1	8,750.00	.2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$4,227,065.89	100	\$4,173,888.42	100

\* The table above shows the relation of the Civilian Public Service budget to the total budget of the Brethren Service Committee (Brethren Service Commission) for the above period. The data in the table was furnished by Robert G. Greiner.

## Part IV

### Epilogue

*In the preceding pages, an effort has been made to present the main facts of the Brethren CPS program. Insofar as possible, the account has been limited to a consideration of the historical events without an evaluation of their significance by the author. Thus, the history has been concerned with the problem of recounting the past rather than with the problem of passing judgment upon it. In the pages following, however, an approach is made to the problem of appraising the program. Certain questions are raised that seem basic to such a consideration. With an answer to these questions, the reader can proceed more readily to a judgment as to the ethical import of Brethren CPS. At the same time, some judgments of the author are expressed in summary fashion.*





## CHAPTER 15

### Toward an Evaluation

The problem of evaluating adequately Brethren Civilian Public Service is exceedingly complex. There is evident no one point of view, acceptable to all participants and observers, from which to weigh and to judge the program. Rather, there is apparent a diversity of value standards among many of those who have expressed themselves on the subject. In the final analysis it seems apparent that to the problem each must apply for himself the ethical standards to which he, as an individual, is committed, and to evaluate the program accordingly.

To the author, Civilian Public Service appears as a mixed series of achievements and failures. Judged in historical perspective, the program represents an advance, for both the individual objector and the nation, over previous ways of meeting the issue of conscientious objection to war. Through this alternative service, greater recognition was accorded individual conscience by the nation than in the draft of World War I. For the most part, assignments were available which did not force men to violate their consciences and which were of value to the social order. Individual objectors were not subject to personal abuse and mistreatment as they were in the army camps in 1917-1918. The incorporation of such minimal provisions into Civilian Public Service was a step in the

direction of individual liberty and respect for human personality. At the same time, however, the recognition accorded by the nation through its government was limited. With the provision for conscience went certain restrictive features, which, in effect, were punitive in nature. The failure of the government to provide a fair wage for drafted work cannot be reconciled with a full recognition of conscience. At the same time, many objectors felt conscientiously unable to accept alternative service under a conscription law, while still others felt unable to register under such a law. Thus, although in historical perspective the provisions for conscience represented a step forward, from the point of view of the ideal, the step was limited and provided only a partial answer to the problem.

Judged from the effects of the drafted service upon the conscientious objectors, Civilian Public Service represented a mixture of values. Through the experience, almost all the assignees grew in social awareness and in an understanding of the social implications of personal actions. At the same time, however, a number evidenced signs of serious personality disintegration under the compulsive and negative features of their conscripted status.

From the point of view of work accomplished, Civilian Public Service rendered a large contribution to society. Within the program, invaluable service was given in many fields of need—in the conservation of natural resources, in the care of the mentally ill, in public health service, in relief and rehabilitation, in agriculture, in scientific experiments, and in other fields as well. On the other hand, it seems evident that an even larger contribution could have been made through a mode of organization or assignment utilizing more fully the skills and training of the assignees.

The value of Civilian Public Service as a witness against war seems significant. From such a viewpoint, some of the restrictive features of the service are lessened or changed in nature. Thus, the fact that no pay was granted for the service appeared to many of the public as an evidence of a genuine faith and strength of belief on the part of the objectors, who, while desiring pay, were willing to forego it rather than to abandon their principles. It seems to the author that such a recognition of the good faith of pacifists by the public is a necessary first step in the process of effecting change in attitudes toward war and peace. Apart from such considerations, the substantial contributions of the objectors to the welfare of the nation served as a witness for peace. The Castañer unit, the Minnesota experiment, service in mental hospitals—these and other projects were tangible evidence of the desire of the conscientious objectors to serve in a positive way at the same time that they refused service in war.

The particular values accruing to the alternative service through the participation of the Brethren Service Committee in its administration are hard to assess. There is no way to know the direction events might have taken had church agencies not shared in the direct management of the program. However, some observations may be ventured. It seems evident that apart from the efforts of the church groups, the initiation and establishment of special projects as alternatives to base camps would not have reached its large-scale development. Further, certain of the most significant projects were directly related to church participation, including the relief training and service units, the Minnesota experiment, the public health units at Crestview and Tallahassee, the rehabilitation

project at Castañer, and others. It also seems evident that the large-scale efforts in education and religious activities may be attributed in good measure to the church sponsors. At the same time, support of the program offered an opportunity to church members who were not drafted to share the burden of those who were, and an opportunity to participate in a positive service to society, which in turn effected for them a more direct and vital relationship to the cause of peace.

On the other hand, church participation in the administration of Civilian Public Service alienated from church leadership a number of pacifists who felt religious agencies should not be co-operating with a conscription program. Thus a loss of unity in pacifist ranks came about. A loss in the clarity of the church's opposition to war also resulted, inasmuch as the CPS program came to be regarded by some as an integral part of a program of conscription for war. Because church-sponsored CPS, in the first years, did not provide an alternative, such as government camps, for those assignees who wished to deal directly with the government, or for those who did not wish church management, to that extent church sponsorship was also unsatisfactory. This criticism is particularly valid for the period before the opening of the first government-administered unit in mid-1943.

Apart from such judgments of the author, however, which reflect his personal views, are those judgments which each reader must form for himself in seeking to appraise the worth of the program. In the course of such seeking, certain questions seem to press for answer, and may be raised for the consideration of the reader as a first step toward his own evaluation.

Fundamental to such an inquiry is the question, What should be the relation of the individual to the state? Some have felt that the corporate conscience and judgment of society possesses a validity beyond that of the individual, and that the state may lawfully demand conformity of its members. Others have denied the authority of the state so to control its citizens and have maintained that each citizen must be free to follow his inward convictions in matters of conscience. Tangent to this problem, the question arises as to how one best serves the social order in which he finds himself. Is a following of the will of society an effective means of securing progress? Or is an individual variance necessary at points of issue? And, given a desire to serve society, what are the most efficient means at hand to effect such a service? Should individual initiative and responsibility be the manner of approach? Or should state-directed and state-controlled services be instituted?

A further question arises as to the relation of the church to the state. Should the two be separate? And what is the meaning of separate? Does it mean no cooperation between the two? Or that each possesses a definite area in which it finds its field of action? And are the boundaries of such separation clear-cut? If one of the peculiar areas of church functioning is individual conscience, and the state begins to encroach in such concerns, what happens next? Is the field to be abandoned to the state?

In seeking an evaluation of Civilian Public Service, the reader may also consider the relation of the individual to the church and of the church to the individual. Can the church represent the individual to the state in mat-

ters of religious import? Is the church responsible for bearing the burdens of its members? Can the individual accept decisions of the church in lieu of exercising his personal judgment?

More specifically, however, what of the concrete values of the alternative service program? In terms of work, could more have been accomplished by individual assignments to jobs utilizing the skills and training of the assignees? Or would the administration and supervision of such a program have proved more costly than its ultimate worth? If so, what is the place of corporate direction of individual action?

An additional question may be raised as to whether the alternative service provided was in accord with the ideals of the nation. Did it reflect ideals of tolerance and respect for personality? Was there an essential fairness in the treatment of the conscientious objectors? Through this provision for conscience, did the nation advance toward its professed goals of individual liberty and tolerance, and thereby maintain an integrity of purpose?

What was the value of CPS for those interested in seeking to establish patterns of peaceful living for society? Was it an effective means of maintaining the peace belief and of carrying it to others? Was it a step toward the elimination of war? And what are the alternatives to be considered? How can the course of society be redirected toward the goals of peace on earth and goodwill to men?

## Bibliographical Note

The main source materials used in this study were located in the archives of the Brethren Service Commission, 22 South State Street, Elgin, Illinois. Use was also made of the Brethren Historical Library, Elgin; of the files of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, Washington, D.C.; and of materials from the files of the National Headquarters of Selective Service, Washington, D. C. The materials available are very large in quantity. The archives of the Brethren Service Commission include one hundred forty-two standard-size file drawers. In the microfilming of these files, each drawer is yielding approximately seven thousand five hundred images. Thus, the Brethren Service Commission archives contain approximately one million images of documents. Almost all of these may be considered primary source materials. These files at Elgin were examined thoroughly and at great length by the author and are the primary basis upon which this study rests.

The archives at Elgin may be divided into four distinct blocks of documents—the *subject* file of the Brethren Service Commission, the *name* file of the commission, the *personnel* files on the IV-E assignees, and the files of the several Brethren Civilian Public Service *field units* (base camps and special projects) from over the United States. These latter files were secured as each field unit closed. All the materials in the *field unit* files and the *personnel* files are CPS-related documents; most of the materials in the *name* file and the *subject* file are CPS-related also.

Of the four divisions outlined, the *subject* group contains some of the richest sources of information on Brethren CPS. Here were filed papers and documents relative to subjects coming to the fore in the operation of the program. The following listing offers some insight into the nature of the materials within this group. The listing is not intended to be exhaustive, but is intended only to indicate in a brief



way some of the most important items in the collection. These *subject* files, now on microfilm, contain approximately one hundred fourteen thousand images of documents.

#### *Assignee Representation*

Papers related to the Brethren CPS Council and to the conference method of selecting personnel are valuable in considering efforts to provide for participation by the assignees in administration and formation of policy. Folders of special value in this group include: *Camper Participation in Administration; CPS Council; CPS Council, Structure and Concerns; Committee on Review; Conference Method.*

#### *BCPS Bulletin, The*

A mimeographed newssheet issued by the national Brethren Civilian Public Service office. Gives an accurate account of current events in the program. Covers the period July 1944—March 1947, 4-6 pages, seventy issues.

#### *Brethren Camp Directors Memorandums*

A series of memorandums issued by the national office of Brethren Civilian Public Service on topics of current significance, especially to the administration of the program. Approximately 1,500 pages for the period 1941-47.

#### *Bulletins, Reports, Surveys, Studies*

Scattered throughout the files are a number of excellent bulletins, reports, surveys and studies, typewritten and mimeographed, dealing with specific BCPS topics. Illustrative of such documents are: Boisen, Anton T., *The Morale of the Conscientious Objectors in Church-Operated Service Units* (1944, 24 pages). *Congress Looks at The Conscientious Objector* (Washington: NSBRO, 1943, 96 pages). Crago, Glen W., *Background Data of Men Assigned to Civilian Public Service* (February 1948, 5 pages). French, Paul Comly, *Three Years of Civilian Public Service* (1944, 36 pages). Guetzkow, Harold S., *Tables on Certain Characteristics of the Civilian Public Service Population* (1943, 6 pages). Keys, Ancel, *A Report on the Role of Camp Operations Division, Selective Service System in Scientific and Medical Research, 1943-46* (1946, 9 pages). Row, W. Harold, *Report of the Director of Civilian Pub-*

*lic Service to the Brethren Service Committee* (January 1943, 6 pages). Wilson, E. Raymond, *Some Notes On the Evolution of the Provisions for Conscientious Objectors in the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940* (1943, 11 pages).

#### *Educational Reports From the CPS Field Units*

Probably the best single source of information on the Brethren CPS program. Details the various phases of camp and unit life, the educational, recreational, and religious life programs, data on personnel (age, educational level, marital status, occupation), and other items of interest. Practically all local unit developments of significance were noted here. Submitted bimonthly to the Elgin CPS office by the educational secretaries of the camps and projects.

#### *Education Section*

This section of the files is the most copious and best arranged. Particularly valuable are the folders dealing with the special schools established in the units, and the *Manual of Helps for Educational Secretaries*. Other valuable folders relate to: *Accrediting; Audio-Visual Education; Budget; Counselling; Educational Secretary Conferences; Educational Secretary, Correspondence, General; Educational Secretary Newsletter; Library; Pacifism; Reconstruction; Recreation; Scholarships and Loans; Vocational Guidance*; and many other subjects.

#### *Evaluation and Interpretations*

Materials in this section offer insight into the diverse viewpoints held by individuals connected with the program. Particularly well represented are the views of the "left wing" group within Civilian Public Service.

Two widely distributed questionnaires may be noted: one, 1945, prepared by Rufus D. Bowman, aimed to secure the reactions of Brethren assignees to BCPS; the other, 1946, prepared by the Elgin CPS staff, sought assignee opinion in regard to many of the basic issues of Brethren CPS.

#### *Keysort File*

This special mechanical file records information regarding approximately two thousand assignees of Brethren CPS. Population statistics of age, marital status, educational level, place of induc-

tion, pre-draft occupation, etc. are readily available from this file.

#### *Mental Hygiene Program of Civilian Public Service*

The documents in this section consist of releases, handbooks, bulletins, mimeographed reports, and pamphlets concerning this development in the Civilian Public Service program. There are also folders of correspondence relative to the mental hygiene program. The *Exchange Service* and the *Progress and Action Reports* are especially useful.

#### *Minutes of the Brethren Service Committee of the Church of the Brethren*

Records the official decisions and recommendations of the committee. General over-all policy fairly well outlined.

#### *National Service Board for Religious Objectors Documents*

Many important documents were issued by this agency in the years 1941-47. Among them may be listed: the *Camp Directors Bulletins*; the *Camp Director's Manual*; the *Director's Manual*, *Civilian Public Service Hospital Units*; the *Directory of Civilian Public Service*; the *General Letters* of Paul Comly French; the *Memorandums to Executive Camp Directors*; the *Memorandums to the Board of Directors*; the *Minutes of the Board of Directors Meetings*; the *Minutes of the Executive Camp Directors Meetings*; *Research Bulletins*; and the statistical reports (NSB form 114) of unit population. *The Reporter*, a 4-8 page printed paper issued biweekly from the National Service Board office, contains accurate reporting of events for the period July 1942—March 1947. Ninety-eight issues.

#### *Pamphlets*

A collection of approximately forty pamphlets and leaflets, 4-16 pages, dealing with various phases of the program, as, special projects, dependency, the Selective Training and Service Act, Brethren peace heritage, etc. Some of the most useful of the pamphlets are: *Conscientious Objector Under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940*, *The* (Washington, D. C.: NSBRO, 1944, 24 pages). *Creative Citizenship* (Elgin, Illinois: BSC, 1940, 6 pages). *Dependent for Conscience Sake, A* (Elgin: BSC, 1945, 6 pages). French, Paul Comly, *Civilian Public Service* (Washington,

D. C.: NSBRO, 1943, 21 pages). Jacob, Philip, *The Origins of Civilian Public Service* (Washington: NSBRO, undated, 27 pages). Row, W. Harold, *Fulfilling Our Heritage: An Interpretation of Civilian Public Service for Brethren* (Elgin: BSC, 1942, 12 pages). *School of Co-operative Living, The* (Elgin: BSC, 1944, 8 pages). *Special Projects* (Washington: NSBRO, undated, 11 pages).

*Problems*

Includes folders devoted to problems encountered in Brethren CPS, especially in regard to the issue of conscientious refusal to perform war-related work (as cutting wood to produce chemicals, building access roads to timber needed for war industries, etc.). The following folders are particularly valuable: *Chemical Wood Project, Kane; Emergency Farm Labor; Social Action Conference, Chicago; Three Lynx Project, Cascade Locks.*

*Quarterly Work Progress Reports* (form DSS 52)

Official reports to Selective Service by the technical agencies using the assignees. Reported the amount of work accomplished and the number of man-days used.

*Religious Activity Reports*

These papers are bimonthly reports on the religious activities of the CPS units. The reports were written by the local religious life secretaries and forwarded to the Elgin CPS office.

*Selective Service*

Three official reports of Selective Service may be noted: *Report of Selective Service to the President* (May 1944, mimeographed, 109 pages). Hershey, Lewis B., *Selective Service in Wartime* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943). *Selective Service as the Tide of War Turns* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945). The administrative directives and the administrative instructions of Selective Service are filed with the *Camp Director's Manual*. A series of extracts from letters written to Selective Service by project superintendents evaluating the program are also useful.

*Special Newssheets—Dairy Diary, Marine Bull Pen, Castañer Newsletter*

Mimeographed, 2-8 page newssheets dealing with events of interest

to the members of the agricultural units, the livestock attendant project, and the Castañer project, respectively. These papers reflect accurate reporting. *The Dairy Diary*, 39 issues, covers the period, June 1943–February 1946; the *Marine Bull Pen*, 9 issues, covers the period March 1946–July 1946; the *Castañer Newsletter*, 62 issues, covers the period September 1942—to date.

#### *Visitors to Units, Correspondence and Reports*

This section of the file contains the reports, analyses, recommendations, comments, criticisms, and similar materials from the many persons who visited the several units. In a number of instances the visitors were professional consultants, e.g., psychiatrists, psychologists, ministers, educators, or leaders from various fields, such as labor, co-operatives, race relations, etc. Such documents offer insight into the program from the point of view of nonparticipants.

In addition to the *subject* file, extensive use was also made of the files of the individual *field units* which were established throughout the United States. These contain the documents accumulated at each Brethren-administered CPS project. The files were shipped to the Elgin archives as each project closed and are readily available there.

Materials in this group are particularly valuable for the insight offered into the course of events at the local level. The important problems, decisions, activities, etc., of each project, as well as the ordinary daily routines, are reflected through these sources. Because the several units varied greatly, it is difficult to list specific items of importance to the group as a whole. Generally, the bulk of the material consists of correspondence to and from the local projects. Perhaps the best single items are the newssheets and other publications issued. In almost every instance these were edited and written by the IV-E assignees, and thus are very valuable as reflecting the program from the viewpoint of the conscientious objectors. In the first years, especially, 1941-43, the camps and units issued such material rather regularly. Among the most useful are: *Builders* (Camps Manistee and Wellston: September 1941–June 1944). *Camp Magnolia Weekly Newsletter* (August 1941–November 1941). *Camp Walhalla News* (September 1942–August 1943). *Columbian, The* (Camp Cascade Locks: January 1942–January 1943). *Crestviews* (Crestview

Unit: March 1942–November 1943). *Informant* (Colony Unit: January 1945–January 1946). *Kane Penn, The* (Camp Kane: March 1942–September 1943). *Mañana* (Camp Santa Barbara: July 1942–April 1944). *Magnolia Time Peace* (November 1941–February 1942). *Peace Pathways* (Camp Magnolia: March 1942–October 1944). *Polecat Press, The* (Camp Bedford: August 1945–February 1946). *Raising Kane* (Camp Kane: March 1944–July 1944). *Salamonie Peace Pipe* (Camp Lagro: July 1941–March 1943). *Second Mile* (Camp Marienville: January 1943–July 1943). *This Is Our Story* (Camps Lyndhurst and Bedford: March 1943–March 1945). *This Week* (Lyons Unit: October 1944–July 1946). *Tide, The* (Camp Waldport: December 1942–May 1944). *Unit Bulletins* (Fort Steilacoom Unit: 1942–1945). *Viewpoint* (Fort Steilacoom Unit: October 1943–April 1945). *Wakulla Newsletter* (Tallahassee Unit: October 1944–April 1945). *Weekly Memo* (Norwich Unit: April 1943–June 1946).

Several units issued handbooks and directories which give important information concerning the local projects. Also worthy of note are the daily schedules and calendars of events, and the samplings of materials which were posted on unit bulletin boards. Generally, the files of each unit also contained material on public relations; relations with the technical or using agency; publicity; problems; camp facilities, including living quarters, kitchen, library, craft shop, infirmary, etc.; and leisure-time activities, including educational, recreational, and religious developments. There are approximately forty-nine file drawers of documents in the *field unit* file section of the archives, or three hundred fifty thousand microfilm images of documents.

The *name* file of the Brethren Service Commission also contains many documents of value. The bulk of the material consists of correspondence to and from the several individuals and groups related to the Civilian Public Service program, filed under their proper names. Also filed therein is the correspondence between the Elgin office and the local field units and their staffs, including the directors, assistant directors, and other staff members. The latter documents—the correspondence between the central office at Elgin and the individual projects—reflect the relationships developed between the two,

and their division of functions in the administration and operation of the program. The folders of several of the key figures in the movement are also of value. They show the impact of these individuals on the course of events, and contain their interpretations, comments, suggestions, reports, etc. on the current scene. A sampling of the most useful folders may be listed as: The American Friends Service Committee; Wilbur Bantz; Charles Boss; Brumbaugh Reconstruction Unit, correspondence general; Andrew W. Cordier; Paul Comly French; Harold Guetzkow; Samuel Harley; Philip Jacob; Lagro Camp; Mansfield, correspondence general; John D. Metzler; Orie O. Miller; A. J. Muste; W. Harold Row; Walter Van Kirk; Joseph N. Weaver; Dan West; and M. R. Zigler. There are twenty file drawers of documents in this group, or approximately one hundred thousand microfilm images.

The *personnel* files of the IV-E assignees contain papers by or about each individual conscientious objector. They afford insight into the types of men drafted for this service. The folder of each individual contains a more or less complete record of his activities. Included are standard forms listing background information; letters of application, evaluation, and recommendation for new assignments; furlough and transfer forms, and numerous other items. The correspondence between the individual assignee and the local or central offices is a good source of information on the attitudes of the men toward the drafted service. Documents in this group of files offer a rich field for psychological research. There are fifty-two file drawers in this group, or approximately three hundred ninety-five thousand microfilm images.

In considering the resources of the Brethren Service Commission archives—the *subject* files, the CPS *field unit* files, the *name* files, and the *personnel* files of the IV-E assignees—it has been possible to list only a very limited sampling of specific items. Beyond the cited references, the history is based on an extensive and thorough study of hundreds of uncited folders in the files. These uncited folders are valuable as they provide not only data on specific topics, but also a sense of certain of the more intangible aspects of the program.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The archives of the Brethren Service Commission are available for the use of qualified research students.



The Brethren Historical Library at Elgin was particularly useful for information on the history of the Church of the Brethren. In tracing the peace heritage, the following items were valuable sources: *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren on War and Peace* (Elgin: Board of Christian Education, 1935), compiled by L. W. Shultz. *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren on War and Peace, 1936-1940* (Elgin: Board of Christian Education). *Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin: The General Mission Board, 1909). The minutes issued by each Conference in pamphlet form were also used, as well as other minute books.

Also available in the library were the following: *The Gospel Messenger* (the weekly church paper); the "full reports" of the Annual Conferences (stenographic reports of certain of the business sessions); the correspondence of W. J. Swigart, of the Central Service Committee for the period of World War I; and other useful items. CPS-related books include: Bowman, Paul H., and Guetzkow, Harold S., *Men and Hunger* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1946). Bowman, Rufus D., *The Church of the Brethren and War* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1944). Garver, Earl S., and Fincher, Ernest B., *Puerto Rico: Unsolved Problem* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1945). Stafford, William E., *Down in My Heart*, (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1947).

The files of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors in Washington, D. C., were also surveyed for this study. The most valuable items there, however, were duplicated in the Elgin archives, and so a limited time only was spent in these sources. The best single item was a stenographic report (1309 pages) of the administrators training school of November 1942 to which many of the ranking officials in the program contributed. Among such officials were: Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, Lewis F. Kosch, Chief of the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service, A. S. Imirie, F. A. McLean, Victor Olson, and other government officers, as well as Paul Comly French, Joseph M. Weaver, and others of the National Service Board. The speeches and remarks of these men are revelatory of their respective points of view.

At Selective Service headquarters, some materials were made avail-



able by the officials in charge. Three items in particular are worthy of mention. The first is an extensive monograph on *Conscientious Objection* edited by Neal M. Wherry of the Selective Service staff. Selective Service administrative officials also contributed to this work. A second valuable item is a folder containing evaluations of the CPS projects by the various superintendents of the institutions and agencies using the conscientious objectors. A third item of note is the collection of the quarterly work progress reports submitted by the using agencies (listed above under the subject file of the Brethren Service Commission, also).

In preparing the manuscript, the author has sought the criticisms, suggestions, and insights of a number of the participants in the program. The author was able to confer personally with M. R. Zigler, W. Harold Row, Ora Huston, Lewis F. Kosch, A. S. Imirie, and others, including several assignees. Through correspondence, the several portions of the manuscript were submitted to persons who were directly concerned with the events described. Their contributions aided in establishing factual accuracy, and offered insight into the spirit behind the course of events.

## **Glossary of Terms, Names, and Abbreviations**

**BCPS—Brethren Civilian Public Service.**

**Brethren—Refers to the Church of the Brethren or its members.**

**BSC—Brethren Service Committee, renamed, June 1947, Brethren Service Commission. Sometimes called the service committee.**

**CPS—Civilian Public Service.**

**Dykstra, Clarence A.—First Director of the Selective Service System.**

**IV-E—Draft classification of conscientious objectors assigned to CPS.**

**French, Paul Comly—Executive Secretary, NSBRO.**

**Guinea Pigs—Assignees used as subjects in scientific experiments.**

**Hershey, Lewis B.—Director of the Selective Service System.**

**Historic Peace Churches—The Church of the Brethren, the Friends, and the Mennonites.**

**I-A-O—The draft classification of conscientious objectors inducted to noncombatant service in the armed forces.**

**Kosch, Lewis F.—Head, Camp Operations Division, Selective Service.**

**NSBRO—The National Service Board for Religious Objectors, Washington, D.C. Sometimes shortened to the National Service Board.**

**Row, W. Harold—National Director of Brethren CPS. After March 1, 1948, secretary of the Brethren Service Commission.**

**Selective Service—The Camp Operations Division of the national headquarters of the Selective Service System, responsible for the direction of Civilian Public Service.**

**Technical Agency—The agency responsible for directing the work program—the “using” agency of each project.**

**Zigler, M. R.—Executive Secretary, Brethren Service Committee (until February 29, 1948) and chairman, NSBRO.**

## Appendix

### ADDITIONAL BRETHREN CPS UNITS

*The following units have not been described in the text, and are noted here to complete the listing of Brethren CPS projects. Some were sponsored by the Brethren for only a portion of their history, or were established late in the CPS program. Others involved only small numbers of men.*

*Alexian Brothers Hospital, Chicago.* A special project operated in conjunction with this general hospital. Assignees served chiefly as nurses. Under the CPS administration of the Catholics until late 1945, when it became a Brethren-administered unit.

*Bowie, Maryland.* A special project operated in conjunction with the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior on the Patuxent Wildlife Refuge. Various assignments connected with the wildlife experiments and studies, and with the maintenance of the refuge. Until 1945, jointly administered by the Brethren, the Friends, and the Mennonites; then Brethren-administered until, in the final months of CPS, it became a government-administered unit.

*Gainesville, Florida.* A special project in public health in Florida, concerned with hookworm elimination. First administered as a Friends unit, in 1946 it became a Brethren-administered unit.

*Mount Weather (Bluemont), Virginia.* A special project operated in conjunction with the United States Weather Bureau. Assignments included the collection and charting of weather data and maintenance of the station.

*Olustee, Florida.* A small special Forest Service research project. Experimental work in various phases of forest management, including chemical research, plant pathology, experimental field work in turpentine production, and timber management. Established in 1945.

*Guinea Pig Units.* Special projects utilizing CPS assignees as subjects and/or technicians in scientific experiments. The Brethren sponsored such units, involving small numbers of men, at the University of Chicago, Cornell University, University of Illinois, Indiana University, Johns Hopkins University, University of Minnesota, Northwestern University, University of Michigan, Ohio State University, and the Mayo Aero Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota. In the Brethren-administered unit at Chicago University, the men served chiefly as ward attendants and technicians in a malaria experiment involving mental patients of the Manteno state hospital. At Cornell University the men served as subjects in a study of the relation of the protein level in the diet to resistance to cold weather. The men served as subjects, at the University of Illinois unit, in a study on the effect of diet on the ability to withstand sudden and intensive exposure to cold. At Indiana University the assignees participated in an experiment testing the effects of various types of clothing in hot climates. At Johns Hopkins University, the men were subjects in an experiment on protein metabolism relative to variations in diet. At the University of Michigan, the conscientious objectors participated in an experiment to investigate the ability of men to work under tropical conditions. At the University of Minnesota, the CPS assignees were subjects and technicians in nutrition experiments. The experiment at Northwestern University used the men in a study of the effects of diet upon altitude tolerance. At Ohio State University, work of the Brethren unit centered about an experiment to determine physiological reactions to rapid change in barometric pressure. At the Mayo Aero Clinic unit, the conscientious objectors participated in an experiment involving the physiological reactions of human beings to the conditions of operation under which modern aviation is being developed.

## THE SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT OF 1940

### *Sections Relevant to Civilian Public Service*

#### Sec. 5(g)

Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the land

or naval forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Any such person claiming such exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections whose claim is sustained by the local board shall, if he is inducted into the land or naval forces under this Act, be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or shall, if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, in lieu of such induction, be assigned to work of national importance under civilian direction. Any such person claiming such exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections shall, if such claim is not sustained by the local board, be entitled to an appeal to the appropriate appeal board provided for in section 10 (a) (2). Upon the filing of such appeal with the appeal board, the appeal board shall forthwith refer the matter to the Department of Justice for inquiry and hearing by the Department or the proper agency thereof. After appropriate inquiry by such agency, a hearing shall be held by the Department of Justice with respect to the character and good faith of the objections of the person concerned, and such person shall be notified of the time and place of such hearing. The Department shall, after such hearing, if the objections are found to be sustained, recommend to the appeal board (1) that if the objector is inducted into the land or naval forces under this Act, he shall be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or (2) that if the objector is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, he shall in lieu of such induction be assigned to work of national importance under civilian direction. If after such hearing the Department finds that his objections are not sustained, it shall recommend to the appeal board that such objections be not sustained. The appeal board shall give consideration to but shall not be bound to follow the recommendation of the Department of Justice together with the record on appeal from the local board in making its decision. Each person whose claim for exemption from combatant training and service because of conscientious objections is sustained shall be listed by the local board on a register of conscientious objectors.

Sec. 10(a) The President is authorized—

(1) to prescribe the necessary rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this act;

(2) to create and establish a Selective Service System, and shall provide for the classification of registrants and of persons who volunteer for induction under this Act on the basis of availability for training and service, and shall establish within the Selective Service System civilian local boards, civilian appeal boards, and such other agencies, including agencies of appeal, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act. . . .

#### Sec. 10(b)

The President is authorized to delegate to the Director of Selective Service only, any authority vested in him under this Act (except section 9). The Director of Selective Service may delegate and provide for the delegation of any authority so delegated to him by the President and any other authority vested in him under this Act, to such officers, agents, or persons as he may designate or appoint for such purpose or as may be designated or appointed for such purpose pursuant to such rules and regulations as he may prescribe.

### EXECUTIVE ORDER OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

*Authorizing the Director of Selective Service to establish an alternative service program for conscientious objectors*

#### Executive Order 8675

**Authorizing the Director of Selective Service to Establish or Designate Work of National Importance Under Civilian Direction for Persons Conscientiously Opposed to Combatant and Non-Combatant Service in the Land or Naval Forces of the United States.**

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 (Pub. No. 783, 76th Cong.), it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. The Director of Selective Service, hereinafter called the Director, is authorized to establish, designate, or determine work of national importance under civilian direction to which may be as-

signed persons found under section 5 (g) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 to be conscientiously opposed to participation in combatant and non-combatant training and service in the land or naval forces of the United States.

2. The Director shall make the necessary assignments to such work, shall determine the agencies, organizations, or individuals that may provide civilian direction thereof, and shall have general supervision and control over such work.

3. To the extent that he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this order, the Director may utilize the services of the Departments, officers, and agents of the United States; accept the services of officers and agents of the several states, territories, and the District of Columbia, and the subdivisions thereof; and accept voluntary services of private organizations and individuals; and may obtain, by purchase, loan, or gift, equipment and supplies from Federal and other public agencies and private organizations and individuals, with or without advertising or formal contract.

4. The Director is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Dated February 6, 1941

Published in the Federal Register, February 7, 1941

### DYKSTRA-ROOSEVELT MEMORANDUM

*Copy of a memorandum from the Director of Selective Service to the President outlining a proposed working agreement between the National Service Board for Religious Objectors and Selective Service. With the approval of the President (December 19, 1940), this plan became the basis upon which the CPS program was initiated.*

Memorandum to The President.

From: The Director of Selective Service.

RE: Conscientious Objectors

*The problem:* The Selective Service Law provides that conscientious objectors who object to non-combatant military training "shall in lieu of such induction be assigned to work of national importance

under civilian direction." There is at present no specific appropriation for this purpose.

During the World War conscientious objectors presented difficulties to both the armed forces and the law enforcement agencies far out of proportion to the numbers involved. To avoid so far as possible a recurrence of such difficulties, a temporary and experimental solution along the following lines is believed desirable.

All conscientious objectors willing to accept non-combatant military service will be inducted in the Army for such service. It is estimated that approximately half of the conscientious objectors will fall in this category.

*It is recommended* that the remaining conscientious objectors, estimated at about 5000 of the current quota of 800,000 men, be assigned to civilian camps for soil conservation and reforestation work.

In the absence of specific appropriations the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Director of Selective Service have informally agreed as follows, subject to your approval:

1. The War Department will furnish or loan cots, bedding, and other items of camp equipment so far as feasible and necessary.

2. The Departments of Agriculture and The Interior will provide technical supervision for soil conservation and other similar projects for these men, as well as tools and other necessary equipment to the extent practicable. The Department has many projects of national importance for which manpower has not heretofore been available, which can be undertaken if this plan is approved.

3. The Federal Security Agency has agreed to cooperate, and may be able to make available certain abandoned C.C.C. Camp sites, and perhaps certain tools and equipment.

4. Selective Service will furnish general administrative and policy supervision and inspection, and will pay the men's transportation costs to the camps, as permitted under the Selective Service appropriation.

5. The National Council for Conscientious Objectors, representing those church groups which include in their membership a large proportion of the conscientious objectors, has agreed for a temporary



period to undertake the task of financing and furnishing all other necessary parts of the program, including actual day-to-day supervision and control of the camps (under such rules and regulations and administrative supervision as is laid down by Selective Service), to supply subsistence, necessary buildings, hospital care, and generally all things necessary for the care and maintenance of the men. Admittance to these camps will not be dependent on membership in the particular church groups undertaking this work. These church groups recognize the special problem created by the conscientious objector. Although generally opposed to the institution of war, they wish to serve their country in a manner compatible with their point of view by undertaking this voluntary obligation.

It is believed that a more intelligent and understanding handling of the problem of the conscientious objector will be possible in the type of cooperative program herein outlined than would be possible under entire governmental auspices. It is further believed that the voluntary assumption of financial and supervisory responsibility by those who have taken part in the religious training leading to conscientious objection will meet with general public approval, if properly administered.

There is precedent in the successful furloughing of conscientious objectors to the Society of Friends during the World War.

Should it develop that the church groups cannot permanently meet the considerable financial outlay, or that difficulties develop in the program here outlined, the Government could at any time modify the program or take it over in its entirety.

Due to the absence of specific appropriations and possible legal limitations in the cooperating departments to the use of personnel and material, it may be necessary to request a comparatively small amount from the President's special defense funds or an appropriation by Congress to implement the program herein outlined.

The Director of the Budget and the Advisory Committee on Selective Service concur in this recommendation.

C. A. DYKSTRA  
Director of Selective Service

The National Council for [Religious] Conscientious Objectors referred to above had become the National Service Board for Religious Objectors by December 1940.

**EVOLUTION OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMITTEE***November 1939*

Council of Boards approves a Commission on Peace and Relief to carry on work in these areas for the Church of the Brethren. Commission to be composed of members of the Board of Christian Education and the General Mission Board. Work of the commission to be carried on by an executive committee composed of board members and others. Leland S. Brubaker, Andrew W. Cordier, Paul W. Kinsel, Nora Rhodes, and L. W. Shultz chosen as the executive committee.

*November 1939*

Executive committee votes to name itself the Brethren Service Committee, subject to final approval by Council of Boards.

*June 1940*

Ocean Grove Conference authorizes the General Mission Board and the Board of Christian Education to administer peace and relief jointly through an executive committee known as the Brethren Service Committee.

Standing Committee indicates M. R. Zigler might be released by the General Boards for the work of the Advisory Committee for Conscientious Objectors, if the task should call for considerable time.

M. R. Zigler elected chairman of Advisory Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

Ocean Grove Conference recommends chairman of Advisory Committee to be a member of the Brethren Service Committee in order to co-ordinate work of the two groups.

Ocean Grove Conference appoints Leland S. Brubaker, Andrew W. Cordier, Paul W. Kinsel, Nora Rhodes, L. W. Shultz, and M. R. Zigler to the Brethren Service Committee.

*December 1940*

J. A. Robinson and J. I. Baugher added to the Brethren Service Committee by special session of Standing Committee, meeting in Chicago.

Committee of three appointed by special session of Standing Committee, Chicago, to study constitution of the Brethren Service Committee.

*June 1941*

Brethren Service Committee reorganized by La Verne Conference adopting report of the above committee of three.

1. Brethren Service Committee to consist of five members appointed by the Annual Conference with each general board to appoint an ex-officio member. Associate representation to be granted other Brethren bodies if at any time they desire to share in the service of this committee.
2. Council of Boards to guide large policy.
3. Five 1941 appointees by La Verne Conference: Paul H. Bowman, Andrew W. Cordier, Mrs. Ross D. Murphy, L. W. Shultz, M. R. Zigler.
4. Former Brethren Service Committee and Committee on Council for Conscientious Objectors (Advisory Committee for Conscientious Objectors) dissolved.

*June 1942*

Revision of procedure provides for all nine members of the committee to be finally approved by Annual Conference.

*March 1943*

Brethren Service Committee incorporated in State of Illinois.

*March 1947*

Brethren Service Committee reorganized, with other boards and committees of the church, under the General Brotherhood Board.

*June 1947*

Brethren Service Committee re-named Brethren Service Commission.

Persons who served on the Brethren Service Committee at various times: J. I. Baugher, Charles D. Bonsack, Paul H. Bowman, Warren D. Bowman, M. J. Brougner, Leland S. Brubaker, Andrew W. Cordier, C. Ernest Davis, George L. Detweiler, J. Linwood Eisenberg, Hylton Harman, T. F. Henry, Paul Kinsel, W. Newton Long, Burton Metzler, Mrs. Ross D. Murphy, W. W. Peters, Nora Rhodes, Herbert F. Richards, J. A. Robinson, Ralph E. Shober, Gordon Shull, L. W. Shultz, Claud Studebaker, Charlotte Weaver, M. R. Zigler.

**PUBLIC OPINION ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS**

*Results of a Public Opinion Poll on Conscientious Objectors Conducted by the Office of Public Opinion Research, Princeton, New Jersey, April 1945\**

1. In general, do you approve or disapprove of Conscientious Objectors?

Approve	26.0%
Disapprove	65.1
No Opinion	8.9

2. Many Conscientious Objectors are willing to be sent overseas to help in relief work in war areas. Do you approve or disapprove of their going?

Approve	75.3%
Disapprove	18.5
No Opinion	6.2

3. At present Conscientious Objectors who are drafted by the government for work receive no pay for their work. Their dependents receive no financial aid.

(A) Would you approve or disapprove of their dependents receiving some federal aid?

Approve	67.1%
Disapprove	24.4
No Opinion	8.5

(B) Would you approve or disapprove of Conscientious Objectors receiving some pay for their work?

Approve	60.8%
Disapprove	30.3
No Opinion	8.9

4. Should Conscientious Objectors, who are drafted for work, be assigned to manual work in labor camps, or should they be assigned to jobs which make use of their skills and training?

Skilled Jobs	70.9%
Manual Work in Labor Camps	16.8
No Opinion	12.3

\*The questions of the poll were administered to 1184 persons representing a typical sample of the national population in regard to age, sex, economic, educational, and geographic background, and other factors.

**PUBLIC OPINION ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS**

*Poll of Opinions on Significant Conscientious Objector  
Issues\*, 1943-1944*

Questions and alternatives	% General public N-308	<i>By Educational Levels</i>		
		% Grammar N-95	% High N-107	% College N-105
1. Have you ever heard of CO's?				
Yes .....	96.5	91.6	98.2	99.0
No .....	3.5	8.4	1.8	1.0
2. Should government allow men to choose to fight in war?				
Yes .....	16.6	12.6	12.2	24.7
No .....	80.0	82.1	85.1	73.2
No opinion .....	3.3	5.3	2.8	1.9
3. Motivation of CO's?				
Not cowards .....	49.4	25.3	52.3	62.4
Partly cowards .....	23.4	31.6	21.5	18.1
Cowards .....	23.4	36.8	23.4	11.4
No opinion .....	3.9	6.3	2.8	2.9
4. Program for CO's?				
Keep peacetime jobs .....	3.2	4.2	3.7	1.9
Farming; reforestation .....	30.2	21.0	32.7	36.1
Medical at front .....	44.5	31.6	46.7	54.1
Fight or jail .....	20.4	40.0	15.9	6.7
No opinion .....	1.6	3.2	.9	1.0
5. Should government support CO's assigned to camps?				
Yes .....	76.0	67.3	73.0	86.5
No .....	22.7	31.6	27.1	10.5
No opinion .....	1.3	1.1	0	2.9
6. (If Yes)				
Pay them same or less than private?				
Same .....	70.4	62.4	70.5	78.0

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Less .....	26.5	34.4	28.2	18.7
No opinion .....	3.0	3.1	1.3	3.3
7. May CO's proselytize during the war?				
Yes .....	11.4	5.3	9.4	19.0
No .....	87.0	94.8	88.0	78.9
No opinion .....	1.6	0.	2.8	1.9
8. Friendly after war?				
Just as friendly .....	55.1	32.6	61.8	69.3
Not so friendly .....	42.5	64.1	38.4	26.7
No opinion .....	2.3	3.2	0	3.8
9. Hire after war?				
Just as quickly .....	32.8	20.0	29.0	47.6
Not so quickly .....	65.9	79.0	71.0	48.5
No opinion .....	1.3	1.1	0	2.9
10. Civil Service after war?				
Yes .....	47.6	27.3	43.0	70.5
No .....	49.3	69.4	54.2	26.7
No opinion .....	2.9	3.2	2.8	2.9
11. Number of CO's is few or a lot?				
Few .....	57.4	40.0	61.8	64.3
Lot .....	25.0	37.9	21.6	17.5
No opinion .....	17.6	22.1	16.8	13.6

\*Based on a representative sample of three hundred cases (stratified for representativeness in the following fashion: age within sex within economic status) gathered in late 1943 and early 1944 in the Trenton, New Jersey, area, by trained interviewers, hired from the staff of the Opinion Research Corporation, under the direction of Dr. Leo P. Crespi. In a report of the poll, Dr. Crespi, of the department of psychology, Princeton University, indicated that, in general, the results can be looked upon as reflecting pre-D-Day wartime attitudes toward CO's. The above statistical data and additional information may be found in the complete report of the poll, Leo P. Crespi, "Public Opinion Toward Conscientious Objectors: IV. Opinions on Significant Conscientious Objector Issues," *The Journal of Psychology*, Volume 19, 1945, pages 277-310.

*Interpretation of Data:* "The first major conclusion of this study is that in their specific opinions, just as in their general attitude, the public manifests (a) substantial tolerance toward CO's, and (b) limited agreement with CO principles.

"The substantial amount of public tolerance . . . is shown most clearly in specific opinions on the question of what to do with CO's during this war, and on the question of whether the government should support CO's assigned to public-service camps. On the former question, four-fifths of the general public, by not demanding that CO's be given the choice of fight or jail, indicate that they accept the principle of alternative service for CO's. On the question concerning government support, over three-fourths of the public indicate that the government should provide wages and a family allotment for CO's assigned to work-camps. Of the members of the public who express this belief, the great majority feel the compensation should be the same as rather than less than that received by a private in the Army.

"The limited amount of agreement with the CO point of view . . . is shown most clearly in specific opinions on the question regarding CO-philosophy—should the government allow men of draft age to choose whether or not they will fight in this war—and on the question regarding proselytizing . . . ." (Crespi, *op. cit.*, page 306.)

The estimated postwar reaction to CO's was most favorable in the realm of social relations and least favorable in political and economic realms.

A major conclusion of the poll was that education was a very significant determinant of attitude toward CO's. Opinions in higher educational levels were more favorable toward conscientious objectors.

Other findings of this poll indicated the influence of sex, age, and economic status as factors determining attitude toward CO's. In the age differences in opinions, a slightly greater leniency was found in younger respondents (under 40). Concerning sex differences, women did not differ significantly from men in specific opinions on concrete issues regarding CO's. Data from the poll also revealed that to the extent that economic status was correlated with education, rise in economic status was associated with increase in favor to CO's. (Data suggested, however, that economic status was not a major determinant of attitudes.)

## GENERAL STATEMENT ON CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE BY THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMITTEE

*In March 1946, the Brethren Service Committee issued a general statement on CPS. The following extracts from the statement reveal the interpretation and policy of the committee at that time.*

*Interpretation of C.P.S.:* The B.S.C. recognizes C.P.S. as a limited instrument that is inadequate for the achievement of all ends sought by pacifists. We consider C.P.S. further as a working compromise between church and state—the church submitting under conscription to an alternative to military service, and the state recognizing conscience as the basis of exemption from military service. Thus, C.P.S. is an imposed and regimented pattern of life rather than a voluntary coming together of like-minded people in a free and unrestricted community. Although restricted by such factors as Congressional action, public opinion, pressure groups, Selective Service, and administrative agencies, we regard C.P.S. as a true community of men who hold in common at least one ideal—objection to war. This community is an opportunity to evolve a working democracy, and to live the good life under limiting circumstances—a place for both personal and community growth. Without exception, as Brethren, we interpret C.P.S. as a demand for the Christian life. And we believe that by maintaining the program of C.P.S. we seek to provide for persons opposed to military service the means for legally expressing that conviction. Through an alternative that renders service to country, church, and the world, we seek work that develops human and physical resources, and exemplifies co-operative, peaceful, and serviceable ways of community living, thereby attempting to remove the causes of war. As we review our C.P.S. experience . . . we are aware that we have not always realized these ideals. The ideals remain, nevertheless, the ends which we constantly strive to attain.

*Responsibilities:* The B.S.C. assumes responsibility for the maintenance of Brethren men assigned to C.P.S. and, through the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, for its share for all other men in C.P.S. This is more than a financial responsibility. It includes religious, educational, and personnel guidance; medical care; dependency aid; and general welfare.



*Administration and Leadership:* In accordance with its interpretation of C.P.S. as an opportunity for true community living, the B.S.C. seeks to provide leadership (camp directors, unit leaders, and administrative personnel) selected through the mutual consultation of persons who represent the interest involved . . . . The B.S.C. attempts to share the policy-making authority delegated to it by Selective Service.

*Assignee Representation:* We . . . believe that the opinions of C.P.S. men should be obtained and used in matters of policy-making and program planning.

A B.C.P.S. Council of democratically elected assignees meets periodically with the B.S.C. to review the program, share concerns, and suggest policy. This assignee opinion is earnestly sought by the B.S.C., and although it does not necessarily determine the course of action the B.S.C. will take, it does have an important place in policy decisions. Assignee opinion obviously cannot alone be considered the determining factor in B.S.C. decisions. Other factors that must be considered are: the relation of the B.S.C. to the church constituency, the opinion of B.S.C. members themselves, future Congressional action, etc.

*Projects:* The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 authorizes Selective Service to determine what constitutes work of national importance. However, the B.S.C. recognizes an obligation to work for projects that provide men with opportunities commensurate with their ideals, abilities, and interests. The committee will continue to evaluate projects in the light of the following principles:

1. Consistency with Christianity and pacifism.
2. Social need and usefulness.
3. Nonmilitary significance.
4. Racial, religious, and political equality.
5. Utilization of skills, training, and interests.
6. Nonjeopardy of labor standards and employee opportunities.
7. Tolerant project administration.

*Minorities:* The problem of minorities is of special significance in C.P.S. Idealistically the B.S.C. works for religious tolerance, racial equality, and political freedom. In assisting in the placement of assignees, the B.S.C. considers qualifications of the men without re-

gard to race, creed or politics. In spite of our striving, however, this ideal is not practically attained in all our projects. When an assignee feels he cannot remain on a project under such conditions, the B.S.C. will seek to effect satisfactory transfer to another assignment.

*Conduct:* Men who enter C.P.S. will become increasingly aware of its limitations. Under conscription with its restrictions and compulsions, there will be temptations to follow individual rather than socially accepted standards of conduct. In such situations the B.S.C. believes that Christian self-discipline is the most effective means to successful group living. But when individual conduct thwarts the established purposes of the program and is not resolved in the local situation, the B.S.C. reserves the right to introduce some form of constructive and redemptive discipline consistent with the purposes and ideals of the program.

*Religion:* We believe that religion should be the source of the conviction by which men associate themselves with C.P.S. It is also the continuing stream of inspiration by which men live in actual situations. Where this spiritual stream continues to flow, its resources enable men to face the many problems of a conscript society. Through its religious ministry, the B.S.C. seeks to provide encouragement that will inspire and sustain personal and community religious values. This ministry not only encourages the Brethren traditions, but also attempts to promote the commonly held Christian values through means that strive for the realization of our Master's hope that "all may be one."

*Education:* The B.S.C. likewise feels the responsibility to provide, when possible in a conscript society, opportunities and facilities for education. This educational program is stimulated and planned to provide opportunities for personal growth and the creative change of social institutions.

*The Future:* Although it is always easier to describe the past than to venture into the future, we feel increasingly certain that C.P.S. at best can be only a temporary phase of the current pacifist testimony. C.P.S. is not an institution of such intrinsic worth that we desire to perpetuate it indefinitely. From C.P.S. as it is now, we must move to a clearer, stronger, and more consistent witness to the

spirit of Christ. It is our opinion that in providing for conscientious objectors during this war, substantial progress has been made over World War I. Should peacetime conscription or another war come upon us, we must prepare ourselves to advance from where we now stand.

*Conclusion:* In the light of what we already know about the power and uses of atomic energy, a lack of religious conviction can plunge our world into the abyss of self-destruction. As Christians we must create those forces that will prevent this destiny with death. Our opportunity to avert this catastrophe becomes greater as our government more nearly approaches the ways of the kingdom of God. But should the dictates of the state prevent us from fulfilling our responsibilities to the kingdom of God, we shall obey God rather than man, take our stand, and prepare ourselves for the oppression and persecution that is likely to follow. For the present we intend to continue, in partnership with the government, those constructive activities which demonstrate the effective force of that Love which overcomes evil and transforms society.

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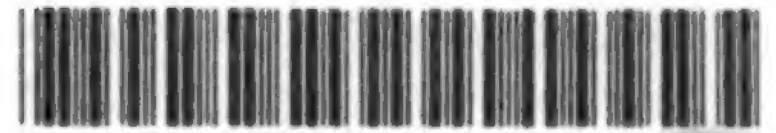
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